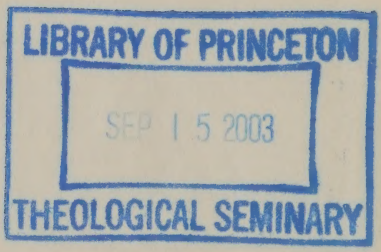

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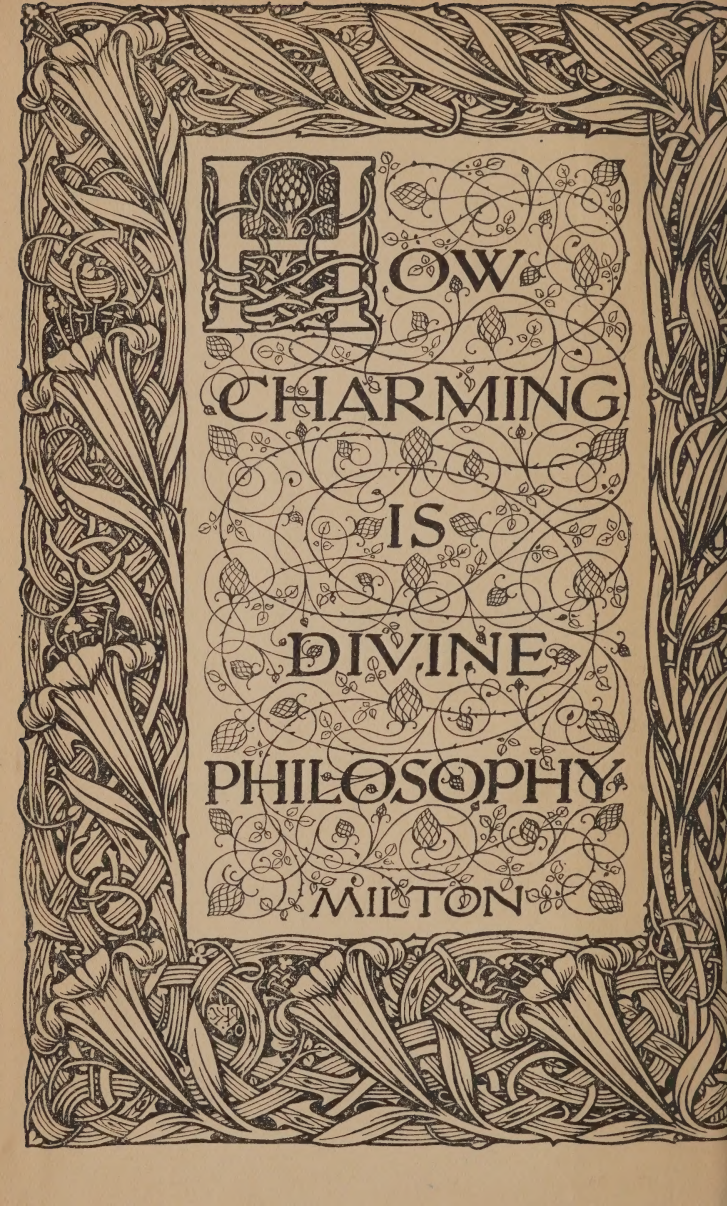
HOW
CHARMING
IS
DIVINE
PHILOSOPHY
MILTON

SERMONS BY HUGH LATIMER SOMETIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER

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INTRODUCTION

LATIMER is the best example the English Church can show of the popular preacher. The sermons of Andrewes or Donne make their appeal to a trained intelligence which can "divide," even to the last scruple, "the word of truth"; Latimer, whether he is preaching in a country town or before the king at Westminster, always speaks so that the servants and handmaids shall carry away as much as the gentler sort. He has but one subject, that of righteousness, and the appeal of righteousness is not to the intellect, but to the conscience.

This is not to say that Latimer was himself unlearned. As a young man he was elected fellow of his college (Clare Hall) at Cambridge, and was one of twelve preachers licensed by the University to preach in any part of England. When his university suspected him of the Lutheran heresy, and he was summoned before Wolsey, he is said to have shown himself more at home in Duns Scotus than Wolsey's chaplains, who were set to examine him. It is probable that he was not deeply versed in the New Learning, being born a little too early for that. The year 1510, in which Erasmus went to Cambridge to teach Greek, was the year in which Latimer took his degree, and we know that at first the new professor found but few pupils.

The story of Latimer's first attraction to the Reformed doctrines is told by himself in the first sermon on the Lord's Prayer:

> Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for God's word sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge; for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon and against

his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge ; and he came to me afterward in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so : and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries.

This was in 1524, and already the next year we find that he had become suspected of favouring what in his bachelor's thesis he had attacked ; for his diocesan, Bishop West of Ely, came up "suddenly and secretly" to Cambridge to hear a Latin sermon he was to preach *ad clerum*, and entered the church with un-episcopal astuteness after the sermon was begun. But for once the greatest diplomatist of his age was overmatched. With extraordinary readiness Latimer changed his text, and preached a sermon extempore from the text *Christus existens Pontifex futurorum bonorum*, "A new auditory requireth a new theme, therefore it behoveth me to entreat of the honourable office of a bishop." The bishop thanked Latimer for his "good sermon," and asked him to preach against Martin Luther's doctrine. To which Latimer very fairly replied that he could not refute what he was prohibited from reading. It is ill setting one's wits against authority ; and according to Cranmer's secretary Morice, from whom this story comes, the bishop, who had the last word, replied, "I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan, Mr. Latymer ; you will repent this gear some day." He was inhibited by the bishop from preaching in the university, but continued to use the church of the Austin Friars, which was extra-diocesan. It was on occasion of this dispute that Wolsey interfered and had Latimer examined, with the result that he licensed him to preach anywhere in England.

Of the Cambridge period we have two sermons preserved, those on the Card, preached about 1529, which raise the question what it was that the Bishop of Ely and the party of the Old Learning found to complain of in Latimer's preaching. The answer of course is that here, as in all theological controversies, it was not the heresy, but the heretic, that was attacked. The sermons only "smelt of the pan." They disparaged "voluntary works"—church-building, pilgrimages, gilding of saints, and so forth, not absolutely, but in comparison with "necessary works" of righteousness and mercy. Still it is not prudent for the clergy to disparage works of

popular religion. Responsible rulers must "doubt whereunto this will grow." The conceit of comparing the Commandments to playing-cards is not to our modern taste; but Latimer was wise in his generation and knew what he was doing. Probably by such a trick he caught the ear of the undergraduates of the day, who were younger then than now. It is interesting to compare these early sermons of Latimer's with the almost contemporary sermons of Bishop Fisher. In reading Fisher there rises to memory the wonderfully beautiful and suffering face that we know from Holbein's drawing, a face that is certainly not of the world. And the sermons also are not of the world. They are full of a sense of the hollowness of all earthly satisfaction; but they do not strike us as showing any acquaintance at first hand with what they despise and renounce. In one place, for example, commenting on the text "Can a woman forget her sucking child?" Fisher lays down that "the affection of fathers is longer-during than that of mothers." Throughout we feel the lessons to be a little too abstract, the similes a little forced, the examples conventional; although there is no mistaking the passion of the preacher. Now, whatever we may think of Latimer's divinity, about his humanity there can be no manner of doubt. From the first his sermons display a quite remarkable insight into the working of the human mind and will. In the second Sermon on the Card, on the words, "Go first and reconcile thy neighbour," he has this penetrating counsel:

> Be not ashamed to do thy Master's and Lord's will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him whom thou hast lost by thy unkind words, by thy scorns, mocks, and other disdainous words and behaviours, and be not nice to ask of him the cause why he is displeased with thee: require of him charitably to remit; and cease not till you both depart, one from the other, true brethren in Christ. Come not to thy neighbour whom thou hast offended, and give him a pennyworth of ale, or a banquet, and so make him a fair countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will shew thee like countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty years old, in thy neighbour's bosom.

The topic which aroused the bitter resentment of his clerical brethren, the disparagement of voluntary works, introduced into

this sermon as an illustration of the text "leave there thy oblation," forms no small part of Latimer's practical teaching from first to last. He saw that religion had come to be identified in the popular mind with certain observances, none of which had any necessary connexion with the "weightier matters of the law." As against this view of religion, as a system of merely ecclesiastical duties, he is always endeavouring to recall men's interest to the fundamental verities of righteousness and mercy.

While they thus preached to the people, that dead images not only ought to be covered with gold, but also ought of all faithful and christian people, (yea, in this scarceness and penury of all things,) to be clad with silk garments, and those also laden with precious gems and jewels; and to be lighted with wax candles, as who should say, here no cost can be too great; whereas in the meantime we see Christ's faithful and lively images, bought with no less price than with his most precious blood, (alas, alas!) to be an hungred, a-thirst, a-cold, and to lie in darkness, wrapped in all wretchedness, yea, to lie there till death take away their miseries.[1]

For a while after his triumph over the Bishop of Ely Latimer's enemies had to possess their souls in patience, because, having taken the king's side in the matter of the divorce, he was in high favour at court. He was one of twelve Cambridge divines appointed with twelve from Oxford as a Royal Commission to examine heretical books. Among the books they condemned was Tyndale's Bible. The accession of Anne Boleyn brought him the bishopric of Worcester, which he held for four years; doing his best during that period for the reform of abuses, especially making a crusade againgst the popular images—"our great Sibyl, with her old sister of Walsingham, her young sister of Ipswich, with their two other sisters of Doncaster and Penrice," but resigning his see when the Statute of the Six Articles was passed (1539), which made him a heretic. It is said that the king saved him from the stake only on the direct intercession of Cromwell. But even when highest in favour he must have realised, as every good man who served the King had sooner or later to realise, how little the Supreme Head of the Church of Christ in England cared for the lives of any of its members. As early as 1531, and again in 1532, he was accused of heresy in Convocation; and though he appealed to the king,

[1] Sermon before the Convocation, 1536. (See p. 33.)

Henry refused to interfere, and Latimer escaped the heretic's fate only by a full recantation. Among the articles he was compelled to sign are such as these: There is a place of purgatory. Souls in purgatory are helped by masses and alms-deeds. Pilgrimages and oblations are meritorious. It is profitable to invocate saints. Images are profitable. It is profitable for them to be decked and trimmed and to have candles set before them. His opinion on these matters is well set out in a letter to Archbishop Warham of the same year: "I have never preached anything contrary to the truth, nor contrary to the decrees of the Fathers, nor as far as I know contrary to the Catholic faith. I have desired, I own, and do desire, a reformation in the judgment of the vulgar, *that they should distinguish between duties;* that all men should know that there is a very great difference between those works which God hath prepared for each of us (zealously discharging the duties of our respective callings) to walk in, and those that are voluntary, which we undertake by our own state and pleasure. It is lawful, I own, to make use of images, to go on pilgrimage, to pray to saints, to be mindful of souls abiding in purgatory; but these things, which are voluntary, are to be so moderated that God's commandments of necessary obligation, which bring eternal life to those that keep them, and eternal death to those that neglect them, be not deprived of their just value." The only one of these topics that calls for any particular comment is that of purgatory: what was Latimer's belief about it? Latimer's attack upon purgatory took the form, at first and in the main, of denying the Pope's claim to deliver from it, which had been made so profitable a source of revenue. He calls it, again and again, "purgatory pick-purse." It was only by degrees that he came to renounce a belief in purgatory altogether, and even in his latest sermons he is not consistent with himself. In one he says distinctly, "You must understand that there are but two places appointed of Almighty God for all mankind, that is, heaven and hell"[1]; in another he allows that he did not know the answer to the question where the soul of the young maid, the ruler's daughter, was, after it went out of her; "but where it pleased God it should be, there it was. If the Bishop of Rome had gone no further we should have been well enough."[2] His earlier view is well set out in the answer he drew up to some articles "untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably

[1] Sermon on Fifth Sunday after Epiphany, Feb. 1552, *Park. Soc.* ii. 191.
[2] Sermon of same year, *Park. Soc.* i. 550.

imputed to me by Dr. Powell of Salisbury."[1] One of these articles is that "there is no purgatory after this life." This Latimer shews to have been a misunderstanding; his doctrine had been that the souls in purgatory have less need of our prayers, as being "always in charity," than we have of theirs. "We may well pray for them, and they much better for us; which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not." But the conclusion of the whole matter for him was that too much attention to souls in purgatory, "who are in God's favour and have Christ with them," diverted attention from souls on earth, who might be in extreme necessity.

We see not who needeth in purgatory; but we see who needeth in this world. And John saith, "If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee?" Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be holpen ourselves, under pain of damnation. Here, for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, foredote ourselves: which inconveniences shall not follow if we do our duty one to another. I am sure the souls in purgatory be so charitable, and of charity so loth to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world to be bestowed upon them. Therefore, howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. I would have difference betwixt that that *may* be done, and that that *ought* to be done; and this to go before that, and that to come after this.[2]

When Protestantism was set up with the accession of Edward VI., Latimer did not return to his bishopric, but lodged with Cranmer at Lambeth, and devoted himself to preaching. His Swiss servant Bernher, who edited some of his sermons, tells us that he preached twice every Sunday during King Edward's reign. The first of these sermons, "preached in the Shrouds at Paul's Cross," *i.e.* in a sheltered place where the sermons

[1] Dr. Powell, prebendary of Salisbury, a theologian of great learning, who had been engaged by the king to write against Luther, had preached, with others, against Latimer for his sermons at Bristol in 1533. A commission was appointed to inquire into the dispute, and Dr. Powell was sent to the Tower. He was executed in 1540, among that famous six at Smithfield, three hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason, in denying the king's supremacy, and three burned for heresy. See Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, ii. 245-253.

[2] *Park. Soc.* ii. 237.

were held in bad weather, is the only one that has survived of a course on "the plough." It is mainly directed against "unpreaching prelates," and contains the memorable saying that the devil is "never out of his diocese."

"*Circuit*," he goeth about in every corner of his diocese: he goeth on visitation daily: he leaveth no place of his cure unvisited; he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not.

But the sermon contains one passage which was to be the precursor of many such in future—a cry to London to repent of its covetousness. "Charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor." In the first sermon of the Lent following, preached before the king, he returns to the subject in regard to rural England. The dissolution of the monasteries had meant the destruction of the monastic schools, with their free education. It had meant also the transference of the manors to lay landlords who were disposed to exact the uttermost farthing of rent; and also to enclose the commons. Moreover, the development of the wool trade encouraged them to lay down their estates in pasture; and this threw a large number of the labourers out of employment, and filled the towns with beggars. On all these topics —upon which, himself the son of a Leicestershire yeoman, he could speak from experience—Latimer probes the consciences of his courtly hearers. In these sermons before King Edward we have one of the most vivid pictures of the age. Here, for example, is a striking contrast between the old times and the new:

My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse. . . . He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

On one topic, as became his office, Latimer was urgent: that

maintenance should be found for poor scholars at school and the universities, so that they might recruit the ranks of the preachers. "Is this realm," he asks, "taught by rich men's sons? No, no, read the Chronicles. Ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates: but . . . by yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been, maintained chiefly." The name of Edward VI. is still held in pious memory for the schools he founded; but it is forgotten that those he founded, or refounded, were but a fraction of those that were suppressed by the merciless confiscation of the property of the Guilds. Preaching at Stamford in 1550, Latimer says: "To consider that hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibition; the preaching office decayeth." And he asks his hearers, in another place, "to bestow as much in the feeding of scholars of good wits, of poor men's sons, as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses, in pardons, in purgatory matters." But not only do agriculture and education come within the scope of this denouncer of covetousness; he has a word for the judge who takes bribes: and having in the third sermon before King Edward told the tale of Cambyses flaying an unjust judge and covering the judgment seat with his skin, he recurs to this again and again. "It were a goodly sign, this of the judge's skin. I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England."[1] He has a word also for the receiver of fraudulent commissions, and the adulterating manufacturer. On the text "Thy wine is mingled with water" he comments: "Here he meddleth with vintners; belike there were brewers in those days as there be now. . . . I hear say there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you? were it no wonder to hear that cloth-makers should become poticaries? Yea, and (as I hear say) in such a place, where as they have professed the gospel and the word of God most earnestly of a long time." And he goes on to explain the mystery of flock-powder.[2] To all classes he is a faithful monitor. "The servant who has his whole wages and does but half his work, or is a sluggard, that same fellow is a thief before God." The fearless-

[1] See the curious reference to the "silver bason and ewer" in the Last Sermon before King Edward (p. 225).

[2] Third Sermon before King Edward (p. 118).

ness of Latimer was one of his marked characteristics. The man who had his trunk packed ready to start when the pursuivant came to summon him to a trial that could have no issue but the stake was not the man to be daunted by kings or mobs. When he first came into favour with Henry VIII. by his judgment about the divorce, and thus for a moment quieted his enemies, the first thing he must do is to remonstrate with the king in a Lent sermon for ordering that his horses should be pastured on abbey lands, "abbeys being ordained for the comfort of the poor." His sermon before the Convocation of 1536, of which we have only a translation, recalls in its boldness the great sermon of Colet, a quarter of a century before. He said as strong things many times afterwards about unpreaching prelates; but that was in the reign of Edward, when he was safe. Under Henry he was never safe.

There is no need to make the attempt to sum up Latimer's characteristics as a preacher. A single page of any sermon shews the whole man, in his simplicity, his directness, his burning zeal, his humanity, his quaint terms, his garrulousness. His sermons were talked; and as they were expected to last for a couple of hours, humorous relief was very welcome to both preacher and hearer. No preacher had so inexhaustible a stock of merry tales—not the cut-and-dried moralised anecdotes of the *Gesta Romanorum*, but incidents that he had noted in his busy life among the people. A good example will be found in the third sermon before Edward VI. Now and then he does not disdain what we should call a "Joe Miller," as when he tells of the gentlewoman who went to St. Thomas of Acres to the sermon, because she "never failed of a good nap there." Frequently he illustrates from his own personal history—as the question of giving tribute to Caesar, by an examination he had to undergo before the bishop.[1] If the modern reader is inclined to resent the occasional homeliness of the vocabulary as beneath the dignity of the pulpit—as when it is said that the covetous man's mind is "on his half-penny"; or when the preacher quotes a proverb "of my country: They say when they call the hogs to the swine-trough, 'Come to thy mingle-mangle, come pur, come pur'"; or when he paraphrases *Num et vos seducti estis?* by "What, ye brain-sick fools, ye hoddy-pecks, ye doddy-pouls, ye huddes, are you seduced also?"—it is well to remember that the final

[1] Sermon preached at Stamford (p. 256).

cause of the pulpit is not the dignity of the preacher, but the instruction of the hearer, and that before a man can hear he must be drawn to listen. Moreover, in these days of universal education we cannot appreciate the ignorance of the simple people in Latimer's day. It may be brought home to us by the concluding passage of the sermon at Stamford in which Latimer tells us that he made a habit of reciting the Lord's prayer before and after every sermon, as he found so many poor people did not know it.

LIST OF WORKS BY HUGH LATIMER

Concio quam habuit . . . pater H. Latimer, epus Worcestrie in cõuẽtu spiritualiũ nono Junii, ante inchoationẽ Parlamenti celebrati anno 28 . . . Regis Henrici octaui. Southwarke, 1537.

H. Latimeri . . . oratio, apud totum Ecclesiasticorũ cõventum, . . . de Regni statu per Evangelium reformando. Basileæ, 1537.

A notable Sermõ [on Rom. xv. 4]. 1548.

The fyrste (. . . seuenth) Sermon [1549] of Mayster Hughe Latimer, preached before the Kynges Maiesty at Westminster MDXLIX. Arber, "English Reprints," 1868, etc.

A most faithfull Sermo preached before the Kynges most excellente Maiestye. 1550.

A Sermon [on Matt. xxii. 21] preached at Stamford the IX. day of Oct. anno MCCCCC. and fyftie. 1550.

Twenty-seven Sermons preached by . . . 1562.

Frutefull Sermons. 1571, 1575, 1578, 1584, 1596, 1607, 1635.

The Sermons of Master H. L., many of which were preached before King Edward VI. To which is prefixed Bishop L.'s Life. 1758.

The Sermons of H. L., now first arranged according to the order of time in which they were preached. A memoir of the Bishop by John Watkins. 1824.

Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer. Ed. Parker Society. 1844-5.

(Including Letters to Lord Cromwell and others, Injunctions to the Clergy, Disputation at Oxford, etc.)

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SERMONS ON THE CARD

The Tenor and Effect of Certain Sermons made by Master Latimer in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1529.

Tu quis es? Which words are as much to say in English, "Who art thou?" These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him who he was: which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies; and also, because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they said unto him, "Who art thou?" Then answered St John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

Now here is to be noted the great and prudent answer of St John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself what he was himself, but he said he was not Christ: by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ; and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, "He is in the midst of you and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo." By this you may perceive that St John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this

question aforesaid, "Who art thou?" shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, "Who art thou?" This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion: "What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into this world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of, by thyself?" Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand how thou shalt make answer unto it; which must be made on this wise: I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself but all towards hell, except I have better help of another than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves; which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following:

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's grace now being to accept into his favour a mean man, of a simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth this favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasy: and for because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain

with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will but be content and agreeable that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms; and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alonely by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace, hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his said town of Calais. Then he, being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, maketh profound search and inquiry by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and from his heirs this thousand pounds of possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes, truly: the said captain cannot deny himself but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved him to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So likewise it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit of science and knowledge, to work all goodness therewith: this said spirit was not given alonely unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, that is to say, the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire; and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

Now then the King, seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs; so in like manner, when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him and in him. So now this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him, again we lost the same.

The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father in the thousand pounds of possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice. Let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! For he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in paradise into this corrupt world, amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the most uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven; of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, insomuch that this evil nature is so fused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our forefather Adam was. By reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell: which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman, by themselves, "Who art thou?"

And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ. The Father in heaven, perceiving the frail nature of man, that he, by himself and of himself, could do nothing for himself,

by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so, at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind; and so left behind for our safeguard laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelists, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, "Who art thou?" than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman: but after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a christian man, a christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a christian man, what shall be thy answer of this question, "Who art thou?"

The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a christian man, a christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws; and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us; and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God: so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be christian men, christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a christian man, or of a christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule: for likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St Augustine's rule, so is he a good christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the

works of mercy, and so forth. And for because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas: I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And whereas you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend, by God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the triumph[1], which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this triumph with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

Let therefore every christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the triumph: you must mark also that the triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then, take ye this first card, which must appear and be shewed unto you as followeth: you have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, "Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment: but I say unto you" of the new law, saith Christ, "that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, 'Raca,' that is to say, brainless," or any other like word of rebuking, "shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, 'Fool,' shall be in danger of hell-fire." This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St Matthew.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same: wherefore you must well note and mark terms, how they be spoken, and to what purpose. Let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given

[1] This game was something like the modern game of *Whist*. The cards, however, were not all dealt out; and the dealer had an advantage in being allowed to reject such cards from his hand as he thought proper, and take others in their stead from the undealt stock. An account of the game is given by Singer, "Researches into the History of Playing Cards, &c." pp. 269, 270.

unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ; which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, "Thou shalt not kill." Yet nevertheless, the last three parts do shew unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet, for all Christ's exposition in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt, the Jews understood Christ well enough, when he spake to them these three last sentences; for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue. Wherefore, seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we in like manner may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin first with the first part of this card, and then after, with the other three parts. You must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge, not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon; and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbours, so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies: which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

Now, as touching the three other sentences, you must note and take heed, what difference is between these three manner of offences: to be angry with your neighbour; to call your neighbour "brainless," or any such word of disdain; or to call your neighbour "fool." Whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly, one more than the other; as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth. A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother ire or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure

express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed: yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul; and is therefore "in danger of judgment."

Now, to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour "brainless," or some other like word of displeasure; as a man might say in a fury, "I shall handle thee well enough;" which words and countenances do more represent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word nor shewed any countenance to declare his ire. Wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth that in him is to kill his neighbour's soul in moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himself; and so this man is "in danger of council."

Now to the third offence, and last of these three: That man that calleth his neighbour "fool," doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that called his neighbour but "brainless," or any such words moving ire: for to call a man "fool," that word representeth more envy in a man, than "brainless" doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is "in danger of hell-fire."

Wherefore you may understand now, these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other.

Now peradventure there be some that will marvel, that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man "brainless," and to call his neighbour "fool:" truly these be the smallest and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names; which offences must

needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults to have three degrees of punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire. These three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences. Judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance: council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour "brainless," or any such word, that declareth his ire and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell, than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour "fool," by reason that in calling his neighbour "fool," he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire: wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it; that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

Now you have heard, that to these divers offences of ire and killing be appointed punishments according to their degrees: for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain shall be according; if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think, because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell. No doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient, enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with another. Yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms, of "judgment, council, and hell-fire." Whereas you might say, What was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them. These terms were natural and well known amongst the Jews and the Pharisees: wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine. And these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of inquirance, the sessions of deliverance, and the

execution-day. Sessions of inquirance is like unto judgment; for when sessions of inquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance the judges go among themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon: execution-day is to be compared unto hell-fire; for the Jews had amongst themselves a place of execution, named "hell-fire:" and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world. Wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms.

These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine, to thrust down these Turks and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a christian man to be bond and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so; we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards, who shall have the better. Let us play therefore on this fashion with this card. Whensoever it shall happen the foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind; straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, "Who art thou?" The answer is, "I am a christian man." Then further we must say to ourselves, "What requireth Christ of a christian man?" Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I said before), and cast your trump, your heart, on this card; and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a christian man,—not to be angry, ne moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome him by true and lawful play. But, alas for pity! the Rhodes are won[1] and overcome by these false Turks; the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the

[1] Alluding to the capture of the Island of Rhodes by the Turks, A.D. 1523.

very true number of Christianity is decayed; which murder and killing one of another is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example, as thus: when the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, avouterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not, when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of the father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames: if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants and apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs and all that belongeth unto them: and so this way is a great number of christian lineage murdered and spoiled.

The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of christian men slain; which is on this fashion: although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences. The master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the order of his faculty, doth admit him; or that he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay, if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering them.

Wherefore I exhort all true christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend. Every man must be in his own house, according to St Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teaching according to it, rebuking and punishing vice; not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God. You ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep

their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness; if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof. And so you may perceive that there be many a one that breaketh this card, "Thou shalt not kill," and playeth therewith oftentime at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers. But who be those now-a-days that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own children unto their damnation; unless the great mercy of God were ready to help them when they repent there-for.

Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalene; and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven; as appeareth by this example following:

Christ, when he was in this world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon: this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner. Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner named Mary Magdalene. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended God; whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee, seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, "If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him." Christ, understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said unto him, "Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee." "Say what you please," quod the Pharisee. Then said Christ, "I pray thee, tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom

this money is owing, perceiving these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both: which of these two debtors ought to love this man most?" The Pharisee said, "That man ought to love him best, that had most forgiven him." "Likewise," said Christ, "it is by this woman: she hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her—she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me. And thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins: therefore, because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven." So this proud Pharisee had an answer to delay his pride. And think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner; which will perk, and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have a disdain of this poor woman Magdalene, their poor neighbour, with a high, disdainous, and solemn countenance? And being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalene under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that those Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalene. I doubt not but we be all Magdalenes in falling into sin and in offending: but we be not again Magdalenes in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalenes, we should be as willing to forsake our sin and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin and to continue in it; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did unto this question, "Who art thou?" to the which we might answer, that we be true christian men and women: and then, I say, you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this card, "Thou shalt not kill," without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks; and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory. Amen.

SERMONS ON THE CARD

Another Sermon concerning the Same Matter

Now you have heard what is meant by this first card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpose again to deal unto you another card, almost of the same suit: for they be of so nigh affinity, that one cannot be well played without the other. The first card declared, that you should not kill, which might be done divers ways; as being angry with your neighbour, in mind, in countenance, in word, or deed: it declared also, how you should subdue the passions of ire, and so clear evermore yourselves from them. And whereas this first card doth kill in you these stubborn Turks of ire; this second card will not only they should be mortified in you, but that you yourselves shall cause them to be likewise mortified in your neighbour, if that your said neighbour hath been through your occasion moved unto ire, either in countenance, word, or deed. Now let us hear therefore the tenor of this card: "When thou makest thine oblation at mine altar, and there dost remember that thy neighbour hath any thing against thee, lay down there thy oblation, and go first and reconcile thy neighbour, and then come and offer thy oblation."

This card was spoken by Christ, as testifieth St Matthew in his fifth chapter, against all such as do presume to come unto the church to make oblation unto God either by prayer, or any other deed of charity, not having their neighbours reconciled. Reconciling is as much to say as to restore thy neighbour unto charity, which by thy words or deeds is moved against thee: then, if so be it that thou hast spoken to or by thy neighbour, whereby he is moved to ire or wrath, thou must lay down thy oblation. Oblations be prayers, alms-deeds, or any work of charity: these be all called oblations to God. Lay down therefore thine oblation; begin to do none of these foresaid works before thou goest unto thy neighbour, and confess thy fault unto him; declaring thy mind, that if thou hast offended him, thou art glad and

willing to make him amends, as far forth as thy words and substance will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worst: thou art sorry in thy mind, that thou shouldest be occasion of his offending.

"What manner of card is this?" will some say: "Why, what have I to do with my neighbour's or brother's malice?" As Cain said, "Have I the keeping of my brother? or shall I answer for him and for his faults? This were no reason—As for myself, I thank God I owe no man malice nor displeasure: if others owe me any, at their own peril be it. Let every man answer for himself!" Nay, sir, not so, as you may understand by this card; for it saith, "If thy neighbour hath any thing, any malice against thee, through thine occasion, lay even down (saith Christ) thine oblation: pray not to me; do no good deeds for me; but go first unto thy neighbour, and bring him again unto my flock, which hath forsaken the same through thy naughty words, mocks, scorns, or disdainous countenance, and so forth; and then come and offer thine oblation; then do thy devotion; then do thy almsdeeds; then pray, if thou wilt have me hear thee."

"O good Lord! this is a hard reckoning, that I must go and seek him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go unto him. Peradventure he is a hundred miles from me, beyond the seas; or else I cannot tell where: if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart go unto him." This is a lawful excuse before God on this fashion, that thou wouldest in thy heart be glad to reconcile thy neighbour, if he were present; and that thou thinkest in thy heart, whensoever thou shalt meet with him, to go unto him, and require him charitably to forgive thee; and so never intend to come from him, until the time that you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ.

Yet, peradventure, there be some in the world that be so devilish and so hard-hearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto charity. For all that, do what lieth in thee, by all charitable means to bring him to unity. If he will in no wise apply thereunto, thou mayest be sorrowful in thy heart, that by thine occasion that man or woman continueth in such a damnable state. This notwithstanding, if thou do the best that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to some doctors' mind, thou art discharged towards God. Nevertheless St Augustine doubteth in this case, whether thy oblations, prayers, or good deeds, shall avail thee before

God, or no, until thy neighbour come again to good state, whom thou hast brought out of the way. Doth this noble doctor doubt therein? What aileth us to be so bold, and count it but a small fault, or none, to bring our neighbour out of patience for every trifle that standeth not with our mind? You may see what a grievous thing this is, to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in again with all the goods that you have: for surely, after the opinion of great wise men, friendship once broken will be never well made whole again. Wherefore you shall hear what Christ saith unto such persons. Saith Christ, "I came down into this world, and so took on me bitter passion for man's sake, by the merits whereof I intended to make unity and peace in mankind, to make man brother unto me, and so to expel the dominion of Satan, the devil, which worketh nothing else but dissension: and yet now there be a great number of you, that have professed my name, and say you be christian men, which do rebel against my purpose and mind. I go about to make my fold: you go about to break the same, and kill my flock." "How darest thou," saith Christ, "presume to come unto my altar unto my church, or into my presence, to make oblation unto me, that takest on thee to spoil my lambs? I go about like a good shepherd to gather them together; and thou dost the contrary, evermore ready to divide and lose them. Who made thee so bold to meddle with my silly beasts, which I bought so dearly with my precious blood? I warn thee out of my sight, come not in my presence: I refuse thee and all thy works, except thou go and bring home again my lambs which thou hast lost. Wherefore, if thou thyself intend to be one of mine, lay even down by and by thine oblation, and come no further toward mine altar; but go and seek them without any questions, as it becometh a true and faithful servant."

A true and faithful servant, whensoever his master commandeth him to do any thing, he maketh no stops nor questions, but goeth forth with a good mind: and it is not unlike he, continuing in such a good mind and will, shall well overcome all dangers and stops, whatsoever betide him in his journey, and bring to pass effectually his master's will and pleasure. On the contrary, a slothful servant, when his master commandeth him to do any thing, by and by he will ask questions, "Where?" "When?" "Which way?" and so forth; and so he putteth every thing in doubt, that although

both his errand and way be never so plain, yet by his untoward and slothful behaviour his master's commandment is either undone quite, or else so done that it shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good servant, and ask no such questions, and put no doubts. Be not ashamed to do thy Master's and Lord's will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is afore said) whom thou hast lost by thy unkind words, by thy scorns, mocks, and other disdainous words and behaviours; and be not nice to ask of him the cause why he is displeased with thee: require of him charitably to remit: and cease not till you both depart, one from the other, true brethren in Christ.

Do not, like the slothful servant, thy master's message with cautels and doubts: come not to thy neighbour whom thou has offended, and give him a pennyworth of ale, or a banquet, and so make him a fair countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will shew thee like countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty years old, in thy neighbour's bosom. When he departeth from thee with a good countenance, thou thinkest all is well then. But now, I tell thee, it is worse than it was, for by such cloaked charity, where thou dost offend before Christ but once, thou hast offended twice herein: for now thou goest about to give Christ a mock, if he would take it of thee. Thou thinkest to blind thy master Christ's commandment. Beware, do not so, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatsoever thou be; and so, as I said, it should be better for thee not to do his message on this fashion, for it will stand thee in no purpose. "What?" some will say, "I am sure he loveth me well enough: he speaketh fair to my face." Yet for all that thou mayest be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man, to speak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feet, with his hands and his body; for all these parts of a man's body be obedient to the will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes, that looketh cheerfully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee prosper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that speaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good counsel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go to help thee out of trouble and business. He loveth thee with his

hands, that will help thee in time of necessity, by giving some alms-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his body, that will labour with his body, or put his body in danger to do good for thee, or to deliver thee from adversity: and so forth, with the other members of his body. And if thy neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou mayest think that he loveth thee well; and thou, in like wise, oughtest to declare and open thy love unto thy neighbour in like fashion, or else you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be engendered amongst you.

It may fortune thou wilt say, "I am content to do the best for my neighbour that I can, saving myself harmless." I promise thee, Christ will not hear this excuse; for he himself suffered harm for our sakes, and for our salvation was put to extreme death. I wis, if it had pleased him, he might have saved us and never felt pain; but in suffering pains and death he did give us example, and teach us how we should do one for another, as he did for us all; for, as he saith himself, "he that will be mine, let him deny himself, and follow me, in bearing my cross and suffering my pains." Wherefore we must needs suffer pain with Christ to do our neighbour good, as well with the body and all his members, as with heart and mind.

Now I trust you wot what your card meaneth: let us see how that we can play with the same. Whensoever it shall happen you to go and make your oblation unto God, ask of yourselves this question, "Who art thou?" The answer, as you know, is, "I am a christian man." Then you must again ask unto yourself, What Christ requireth of a christian man? By and by cast down your trump, your heart, and look first of one card, then of another. The first card telleth thee, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not be out of patience. This done, thou shalt look if there be any more cards to take up; and if thou look well, thou shalt see another card of the same suit, wherein thou shalt know that thou art bound to reconcile thy neighbour. Then cast thy trump upon them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the virtue of thy cards; and surely thou shalt not lose. Thou shalt first kill the great Turks, and discomfort and thrust them down. Thou shalt again fetch home Christ's sheep that thou hast lost; whereby thou mayest go both

patiently and with a quiet mind unto the church, and make thy oblation unto God; and then, without doubt, he will hear thee.

But yet Christ will not accept our oblation (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our neighbour), if that our oblation be made of another man's substance; but it must be our own. See therefore that thou hast gotten thy goods according to the laws of God and of thy prince. For if thou gettest thy goods by polling and extortion, or by any other unlawful ways, then, if thou offer a thousand pound of it, it will stand thee in no good effect; for it is not thine. In this point a great number of executors do offend; for when they be made rich by other men's goods, then they will take upon them to build churches, to give ornaments to God and his altar, to gild saints, and to do many good works therewith; but it shall be all in their own name, and for their own glory. Wherefore, saith Christ, they have in this world their reward; and so their oblations be not their own, nor be they acceptable before God.

Another way God will refuse thy voluntary oblation, as thus; if so be it that thou hast gotten never so truly thy goods, according both to the laws of God and man, and hast with the same goods not relieved thy poor neighbour, when thou hast seen him hungry, thirsty, and naked, he will not take thy oblation when thou shalt offer the same, because he will say unto thee, "When I was hungry, thou gavest me no meat; when I was thirsty, thou gavest no drink; and when I was naked, thou didst not clothe me. Wherefore I will not take thy oblation, because it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieve thy poor neighbours, and thou hast not therein done according unto this my commandment, *Misericordiam volo, et non sacrificium;* I had rather have mercy done, than sacrifice or oblation. Wherefore until thou dost the one more than the other, I will not accept thine oblation."

Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the less part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the church, except your four offering-days,[1] and your tithes:

[1] The usual offering-days were at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Feast of the dedication of the parish-church. But by injunctions put forth by Henry VIII. in the year 1538, "the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, and of St Michael the Archangel," were to be "taken for the four general offering-days." Strype, Annals, Book I. ch. xlii.

setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimages, making of highways, and such other, be called voluntary works; which works be of themselves marvellous good, and convenient to be done. Necessary works, and works of mercy, are called the commandments, the four offering-days, your tithes, and such other that belong to the commandments; and works of mercy consist in relieving and visiting thy poor neighbours. Now then, if men be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestow the most part of their goods in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion; and leave the necessary works undone, which they are bound to do; they and all their voluntary works are like to go unto everlasting damnation. And I promise you, if you build a hundred churches, give as much as you can make to gilding of saints, and honouring of the church; and if thou go as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great candles as oaks; if thou leave the works of mercy and the commandments undone, these works shall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good and ought to be done; but yet they must be so done, that by their occasion the necessary works and the works of mercy be not decayed and forgotten. If you will build a glorious church unto God, see first yourselves to be in charity with your neighbours, and suffer not them to be offended by your works. Then, when ye come into your parish-church, you bring with you the holy temple of God; as St Paul saith, "You yourselves be the very holy temples of God:" and Christ saith by his prophet, "In you will I rest, and intend to make my mansion and abiding-place." Again, if you list to gild and paint Christ in your churches, and honour him in vestments, see that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and clothing. Then do you deck the very true temple of God, and honour him in rich vestures that will never be worn, and so forth use yourselves according unto the commandments: and then, finally, set up your candles, and they will report what a glorious light remaineth in your hearts; for it is not fitting to see a dead man light candles. Then, I say, go your pilgrimages, build your material churches, do all your voluntary works; and they will then represent you unto God, and testify with you, that you have provided him a glorious place in your

hearts. But beware, I say again, that you do not run so far in your voluntary works, that ye do quite forget your necessary works of mercy, which you are bound to keep: you must have ever a good respect unto the best and worthiest works toward God to be done first and with more efficacy, and the other to be done secondarily. Thus if you do, with the other that I have spoken of before, ye may come according to the tenor of your cards, and offer your oblations and prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ, who will both hear and accept them to your everlasting joy and glory: to the which he bring us, and all those whom he suffered death for. Amen.

ON EPHESIANS VI. 10–20

A Sermon made by M. Hugh Latimer, at the time of the insurrection in the north,[1] *which was in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, Ann. Dom.* 1535, *upon the Epistle read in the Church the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity Sunday, taken out of the sixth chapter of the Epistle of St Paul to the Ephesians.*

Put on all the armour of God, that ye may stand, &c.
EPHES. vi. 10, et seq.

SAINT Paul, the holy apostle, writeth this epistle unto the Ephesians, that is, to the people of the city of Ephesus. He writeth generally, to them all; and in the former chapters he teacheth them severally how they should behave themselves, in every estate, one to another; how they should obey their rulers; how wives should behave themselves towards their husbands; children towards their parents; and servants towards their masters; and husbands, parents and masters should behave them, and love their wives, children, and servants; and generally each to love other.

Now cometh he forth and comforteth them, and teacheth them to be bold, and to play the men, and fight manfully. For they must fight with valiant warriors, as appeareth afterward in the text. And against they come to fight he comforteth them, saying, "My brethren." He calleth them brethren; for though he taught them before to be subject to kings and rulers, and to be obedient to their superiors, yet he teacheth them that in Christ we be all brethren, according to the saying in this same chapter, "God is no accepter of persons." "My brethren," saith he, "be ye comforted, be ye strong;" not trusting to yourselves; no, but be bold, and comforted "by our Lord, and by the power of his virtue:" not by your own virtue, for it is not of power to resist such

[1] This was the insurrection in Yorkshire, which occurred toward the end of the year 1536, headed by Robert Aske, and called the "Pilgrimage of grace." Carte, Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. pp. 139—141.

assaults as he speaketh of hereafter. "Put on, or apparel you with, the armour of God." Armour is an apparel to clothe a man, and maketh him seemly and comely; setteth forth his body, and maketh him strong and bold in battle. And therefore Saint Paul exhorteth generally his brethren to be armed; and as the assaults be strong, and not small, so he giveth strong armour, and not small: "Put on," saith he, "the armour of God." He speaketh generally of armour, but afterwards he speaketh particularly of the parts of armour, where he saith, be armed complete, whole; be armed on every part with the armour of God; not borrowed, nor patched, but all godly. And as armour setteth forth a man's body, so this godly armour maketh us seemly in the sight of God, and acceptable in his wars.

Be ye therefore "armed at all points with the armour of God, that ye may stand strongly against the assaults of the devil." "That ye may stand," saith he. Ye must stand in this battle, and not sit, nor lie along; for he that lieth is trodden under foot of his enemy. We may not sit, that is, not rest in sin, or lie along in sluggishness of sin; but continually fight against our enemy, and under our great Captain and Sovereign Lord Jesus Christ, and in his quarrel, armed with the armour of God, that we may be strong. We cannot be strong unless we be armed of God. We have no power of ourselves to stand against the assaults of the devil. There St Paul teacheth what our battle is, and wherefore we must be thus armed.

For, saith he, "we have not wrestling or strife against flesh and blood:" which may be understood, against certain sins, which come of the flesh only; but let us take it as it standeth, "against flesh and blood," that is, against any corporal man, which is but a weak thing in comparison, and with one stroke destroyed or slain: but we have to do with strong, mighty princes and potentates; that mighty prince, that great conqueror of this world, the devil, yea a conqueror: for though our Saviour Jesus Christ conquered him and all his, by suffering his blessed passion, yet is he a great conqueror in this world, and reigneth over a great multitude of his own, and maketh continual conflicts and assaults against the rest, to subdue them also under his power; which, if they be armed after St Paul's teaching, shall stand strongly against his assaults. "Our battle," saith St Paul, "is against princes, potestates," that is, against devils: for, after the common

opinion, there fell from heaven of every order of angels, as of potentates. He saith also, "against worldly rulers of these darknesses:" for as doctors do write, the spirits that fell with Lucifer have their being in *aëre caliginoso*, the air, in darkness, and the rulers of this world, by God's sufferance, to hurt, vex and assault them that live upon the earth. For their nature is, as they be damned, to desire to draw all mankind unto like damnation; such is their malice. And though they hang in the air, or fall in a garden or other pleasant place, yet have they continually their pain upon their backs. Against these we wrestle, and "against spiritual wickedness in *cœlestibus*," that is, in the air; or we fight against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things.

Think you not that this our enemy, this prince with all his potentates, hath great and sore assaults to lay against our armour? Yea, he is a crafty warrior, and also of great power in this world; he hath great ordnance and artillery: he hath great pieces of ordnance, as mighty kings and emperors, to shoot against God's people, to persecute or kill them; Nero, the great tyrant, who slew Paul, and divers other. Yea, what great pieces hath he had of bishops of Rome, which have destroyed whole cities and countries, and have slain and burnt many! What great guns were those!

Yea, he hath also less ordnance evil enough, (they may be called *serpentines*[1];) some bishops in divers countries, and here in England, which he hath shot at some good christian men, that they have been blown to ashes. So can this great captain, the devil, shoot his ordnance. He hath yet less ordnance, for he hath of all sorts to shoot at good christian men; he hath hand-guns and bows, which do much hurt, but not so much as the great ordnance. These be accusers, promoters and slanderers; they be evil ordnance, shrewd hand-guns and bows; they put a man to great displeasure; often-times death cometh upon that shot. For these things, saith the text, "take the armour of God." Against the great captains, the devils, and against their artillery, their ministers, there can nothing defend us but the armour of God.

"Take therefore this armour," saith the text, "that ye may resist in the evil day, and in all things stand perfectly,

[1] A *serpentine* was a small piece of artillery, which carried a ball of about ¾lb. weight.

or be perfectly strong." This evil day is not so called here, because any day or time is evil; for God made every day good, and all days be good: but St Paul calleth it the "evil day," because of the misfortune that chanceth or cometh in that day. As we have a common saying, "I have had an evil day, and an evil night," because of the heaviness or evil that hath happened; so saith Paul, "that ye may resist in the evil day:" that is, when your great adversary hath compassed you round about with his potestates and rulers, and with his artillery, so that you be almost overcome, then, if you have the armour of God, you shall be strong, and need not to fear his assaults.

St Paul hath spoken of this armour of God generally, and now declareth the parts and pieces of armour; and teacheth them how to apparel every part of the body with this armour. He beginneth yet again, saying, "Be strong, having your reins, or your loins girded about." Some men of war use to have about their loins an apron or girdle of mail, gird fast for the safeguard of the nether part of their body. So St Paul would we should gird our loins, which betokeneth lechery or other sinfulness, with a girdle, which is to be taken for a restraint or continence from such vices. In "truth," or "truly gird:" it may not be feigned, or falsely girt, but in verity and truth. There be many bachelors, as yet men unmarried, which seem to be girt with the girdle of continence, and yet it is not in truth, it is but feignedly. And some religious persons make a profession of continence or chastity, and yet not in truth, their hearts be not truly chaste. Such feigned girding of the loins cannot make a man strong to resist the assaults of the great captain or enemy in the evil day. Yet some get them girdles with great knots, as though they would be surely girt, and as though they would break the devil's head with their knotted girdles. Nay, he will not be so overcome: it is no knot of an hempton girdle that he feareth; that is no piece of harness of the armour of God, which may resist the assault in the evil day; it is but feigned gear; it must be in the heart, &c.

"And be ye apparelled or clothed," saith Paul, "with the habergeon or coat-armour of justice, that is, righteousness." Let your body be clothed in the armour of righteousness: ye may do no wrong to any man, but live in righteousness; not clothed with any false quarrel or privy grudge. Ye must

live rightly in God's law, following his commandments and doctrine, clothed righteously in his armour, and not in any feigned armour, as in a friar's coat or cowl. For the assaults of the devil be crafty: to make us put our trust in such armour, he will feign himself to fly; but then we be most in jeopardy: for he can give us an after-clap when we least ween; that is, suddenly return unawares to us, and then he giveth us an after-clap that overthroweth us: this armour deceiveth us.

In like manner these men in the North country, they make pretence as though they were armed in God's armour, gird in truth, and clothed in righteousness. I hear say they wear the cross[1] and the wounds before and behind, and they pretend much truth to the king's grace and to the commonwealth, when they intend nothing less; and deceive the poor ignorant people, and bring them to fight against both the king, the church, and the commonwealth.

They arm them with the sign of the cross and of the wounds, and go clean contrary to him that bare the cross, and suffered those wounds. They rise with the king, and fight against the king in his ministers and officers; they rise with the church, and fight against the church, which is the congregation of faithful men; they rise for the commonwealth, and fight against it, and go about to make the commons each to kill other, and to destroy the commonwealth. Lo, what false pretence can the devil send amongst us! It is one of his most crafty and subtle assaults, to send his warriors forth under the badge of God, as though they were armed in righteousness and justice.

But if we will resist strongly indeed, we must be clothed or armed with the habergeon of very justice or righteousness; in true obedience to our prince, and faithful love to our neighbours; and take no false quarrels in hand, nor any feigned armour: but in justice, "having your feet shod for the preparation of the gospel of peace."

Lo, what manner of battle this warrior St Paul teacheth us, "to be shod on our feet," that we may go readily and

[1] "Every one wore on his sleeve, as the badge of the party, an emblem with the five wounds of Christ, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle. They all protested upon oath, that they engaged in this undertaking for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, &c." Carte, Gen. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 140.

prepare way for the gospel; yea, the gospel of peace, not of rebellion, not of insurrection: no, it teacheth obedience, humility, and quietness; it maketh peace in the conscience, and teacheth true faith in Jesus Christ, and to walk in God's laws armed with God's armour, as Paul teacheth here. Yea, if bishops in England had been "shod for the preparation of this gospel," and had endeavoured themselves to teach and set it forth, as our most noble prince hath devised; and if certain gentlemen, being justices, had executed his grace's commandment, in setting forth this gospel of peace, this disturbance among the people had not happened.

But ye say, it is new learning. Now I tell you it is the old learning. Yea, ye say, it is old heresy new scoured. Nay, I tell you it is old truth, long rusted with your canker, and now new made bright and scoured. What a rusty truth is this, *Quodcumque ligaveris*, "Whatsoever thou bindest," &c. This is a truth spoken to the apostles, and all true preachers their successors, that with the law of God they should bind and condemn all that sinned; and whosoever did repent, they should declare him loosed and forgiven, by believing in the blood of Christ. But how hath this truth over-rusted with the pope's rust? For he, by this text, "Whatsoever thou bindeth," hath taken upon him to make what laws him listed, clean contrary unto God's word, which willeth that every man should obey the prince's law: and by this text, "Whatsoever thou loosest," he hath made all people believe that, for money, he might forgive what and whom he lusted; so that if any man had robbed his master, or taken any thing wrongfully, the pope would loose him, by this pardon or that pardon, given to these friars or those friars, put in this box or that box. And, as it were, by these means a dividend of the spoil was made, so that it was not restored, nor the person rightly discharged; and yet most part of the spoil came to the hands of him and his ministers. What is this but a new learning; a new canker to rust and corrupt the old truth? Ye call your learning old: it may indeed be called old, for it cometh of that serpent which did pervert God's commandment and beguiled Eve; so it is an old custom to pervert God's word, and to rust it, and corrupt it.

We be a great many that profess to be true ministers of the gospel; but at the trial I think it will come to pass

as it did with Gideon, a duke, which God raised up to deliver the children of Israel from the Midianites, in whose hands they were fallen, because they had broken God's commandment, and displeased God: yet at the length he had compassion on them, and raised up Gideon to deliver them. When they heard that they had a captain, or a duke, that should deliver them, they assembled a great number, about thirty thousand: but when it came to pass that they should fight, they departed all save five hundred. So, I fear me, that at the trial we shall be found but a few ministers of the true gospel of peace, and armed in the true armour of God.

It followeth, "And in all things take the shield or buckler of faith." The buckler is a thing wherewith a man most chiefly defendeth himself: and that must be perfect faith in Jesus Christ, in our Captain, and in his word. It must also be a true faith, it is else no part of the armour of God: it may not be feigned, but a buckler, which may stop or quench the violence of the flaming darts of the most wicked.

"Take also the helmet or head-piece of health," or true health in Jesus Christ; for there is no health in any other name: not the health of a grey friar's coat, or the health of this pardon or that pardon; that were a false helmet, and should not defend the violence of the wicked.

"And the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Lo, St Paul teacheth you battle; to take in your left hand the shield of faith, to defend and bear off the darts of the devil, and in the other hand a sword to strike with against the enemy: for a good man of war may not stand against, and defend only, but also strike against his enemy. So St Paul giveth us here a sword, "The word of God." For this sword is it that beateth this great captain, our enemy. Christ himself gave us ensample to fight with this sword; for he answered the devil with the scripture, and said, "It is written." With this sword he drave away the devil: and so let us break his head with this sword, the true word of God, and not with any word of the bishop of Rome's making; not with his old learning, nor his new learning, but with the pure word of God.

The time passeth; I will therefore make an end. Let

us fight manfully, and not cease; for no man is crowned or rewarded but in the end. We must therefore fight continually, and with this sword; and thus armed, and we shall receive the reward of victory. And thus the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all your spirits. Amen.

PREACHED BEFORE THE CLERGY

The Sermon that the Reverend Father in Christ, M. Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, made to the Convocation of the Clergy, before the Parliament began, the 9 *day of June, the* 28 *year of the reign of our late King Henry the* 8. *Translated out of Latin into English, to the intent that things well said to a few may be understood of many, and do good to all them that desire to understand the truth.*

Filii huius seculi, &c.—Luc. xvi.

Brethren, ye be come together this day, as far as I perceive, to hear of great and weighty matters. Ye be come together to entreat of things that most appertain to the commonwealth. This being thus, ye look, I am assured, to hear of me, which am commanded to make as a preface this exhortation, (albeit I am unlearned and far unworthy,) such things as shall be much meet for this your assembly. I therefore, not only very desirous to obey the commandment of our Primate, but also right greatly coveting to serve and satisfy all your expectation; lo, briefly, and as plainly as I can, will speak of matters both worthy to be heard in your congregation, and also of such as best shall become mine office in this place. That I may do this the more commodiously, I have taken that notable sentence in which our Lord was not afraid to pronounce "the children of this world to be much more prudent and politic than the children of light in their generation." Neither will I be afraid, trusting that he will aid and guide me to use this sentence, as a good ground and foundation of all such things as hereafter I shall speak of.

Now, I suppose that you see right well, being men of such learning, for what purpose the Lord said this, and that ye have no need to be holpen with any part of my labour in this thing. But yet, if ye will pardon me, I will wade somewhat deeper in this matter, and as nigh as I can, fetch

it from the first original beginning. For undoubtedly, ye may much marvel at this saying, if ye well ponder both what is said, and who saith it. Define me first these three things: what prudence is; what the world; what light: and who be the children of the world; who of the light: see what they signify in scripture. I marvel if by and by ye all agree, that the children of the world should be wiser than the children of the light. To come somewhat nigher the matter, thus the Lord beginneth:

There was a certain rich man that had a steward, which was accused unto him that he had dissipated and wasted his goods. This rich man called his steward to him and said, What is this I hear of thee? Come, make me an account of thy stewardship; thou mayest no longer bear that office.

Brethren, because these words are so spoken in a parable, and are so wrapped in wrinkles, that yet they seem to have a face and a similitude of a thing done indeed, and like an history, I think it much profitable to tarry somewhat in them. And though we may perchance find in our hearts to believe all that is there spoken to be true; yet I doubt whether we may abide it, that these words of Christ do pertain unto us, and admonish us of our duty, which do and live after such sort, as though Christ, when he spake any thing, had, as the time served him, served his turn, and not regarded the time that came after him, neither provided for us, or any matters of ours; as some of the philosophers thought, which said, that God walked up and down in heaven, and thinketh never a deal of our affairs. But, my good brethren, err not you so; stick not you to such your imaginations. For if ye inwardly behold these words, if ye diligently roll them in your minds, and after explicate and open them, ye shall see our time much touched in these mysteries. Ye shall perceive that God by this example shaketh us by the noses and pulleth us by the ears. Ye shall perceive very plain, that God setteth before our eyes in this similitude what we ought most to flee, and what we ought soonest to follow. For Luke saith, "The Lord spake these words to his disciples." Wherefore let it be out of all doubt that he spake them to us, which even as we will be counted the successors and vicars

of Christ's disciples, so we be, if we be good dispensers and do our duty. He said these things partly to us, which spake them partly of himself. For he is that rich man, which not only had, but hath, and shall have evermore, I say not one, but many stewards, even to the end of the world.

He is man, seeing that he is God and man. He is rich, not only in mercy but in all kind of riches; for it is he that giveth to us all things abundantly. It is he of whose hand we received both our lives, and other things necessary for the conservation of the same. What man hath any thing, I pray you, but he hath received it of his plentifulness? To be short, it is he that "openeth his hand, and filleth all beasts with his blessing," and giveth unto us in most ample wise his benediction. Neither his treasure can be spent, how much soever he lash out; how much soever we take of him, his treasure tarrieth still, ever taken, never spent.

He is also the good man of the house: the church is his household, which ought with all diligence to be fed with his word and his sacraments. These be his goods most precious, the dispensation and administration whereof he would bishops and curates should have. Which thing St Paul affirmeth, saying, "Let men esteem us as the ministers of Christ, and dispensers of God's mysteries." But, I pray you, what is to be looked for in a dispenser? This surely, "that he be found faithful," and that he truly dispense, and lay out the goods of the Lord; that he give meat in time; give it, I say, and not sell it; meat I say, and not poison. For the one doth intoxicate and slay the eater, the other feedeth and nourisheth him. Finally, let him not slack and defer the doing of his office, but let him do his duty when time is, and need requireth it. This is also to be looked for, that he be one whom God hath called and put in office, and not one that cometh uncalled, unsent for; not one that of himself presumeth to take honour upon him. And surely, if all this that I say be required in a good minister, it is much lighter to require them all in every one, than to find one any where that hath them all. Who is a true and faithful steward? He is true, he is faithful, that coineth no new money, but taketh it ready coined of the good man of the house; and neither changeth it, ne clippeth it, after it is taken to him to spend, but spendeth even the self-same that he had of his Lord, and spendeth it as his Lord's commandment is; neither to his own vantage uttering it, nor as the

lewd servant did, hiding it in the ground. Brethren, if a faithful steward ought to do as I have said, I pray you, ponder and examine this well, whether our bishops and abbots, prelates and curates, have been hitherto faithful stewards or no? Ponder, whether yet many of them be as they should be or no? Go ye to, tell me now as your conscience leadeth you, (I will let pass to speak of many other,) was there not some, that despising the money of the Lord, as copper and not current, either coined new themselves, or else uttered abroad newly coined of other; some time either adulterating the word of God, or else mingling it (as taverners do, which brew and utter the evil and good both in one pot), sometime in the stead of God's word blowing out the dreams of men? while they thus preached to the people the redemption that cometh by Christ's death to serve only them that died before his coming, that were in the time of the old testament; and that now since redemption and forgiveness of sins purchased by money, and devised by men, is of efficacy, and not redemption purchased by Christ: (they have a wonderful pretty example to persuade this thing, of a certain married woman, which, when her husband was in purgatory, in that fiery furnace that hath burned away so many of our pence, paid her husband's ransom, and so of duty claimed him to be set at liberty:) while they thus preached to the people, that dead images (which at the first, as I think, were set up, only to represent things absent) not only ought to be covered with gold, but also ought of all faithful and christian people, (yea, in this scarceness and penury of all things,) to be clad with silk garments, and those also laden with precious gems and jewels; and that beside all this, they are to be lighted with wax candles, both within the church and without the church, yea, and at noon days; as who should say, here no cost can be too great; whereas in the mean time we see Christ's faithful and lively images, bought with no less price than with his most precious blood, (alas, alas!) to be an hungred, a-thirst, a-cold, and to lie in darkness, wrapped in all wretchedness, yea, to lie there till death take away their miseries: while they preached these will-works, that come but of our own devotion, although they be not so necessary as the works of mercy, and the precepts of God, yet they said, and in the pulpit, that will-works were more principal, more excellent, and (plainly to utter what they mean) more

acceptable to God than works of mercy; as though now man's inventions and fancies could please God better than God's precepts, or strange things better than his own: while they thus preached that more fruit, more devotion cometh of the beholding of an image, though it be but a Pater-noster while, than is gotten by reading and contemplation in scripture, though ye read and contemplate therein seven years' space: finally, while they preached thus, souls tormented in purgatory to have most need of our help, and that they can have no aid, but of us in this world: of the which two, if the one be not false, yet at the least it is ambiguous, uncertain, doubtful, and therefore rashly and arrogantly with such boldness affirmed in the audience of the people; the other, by all men's opinions, is manifestly false: I let pass to speak of much other such like counterfeit doctrine, which hath been blasted and blown out by some for the space of three hours together. Be these the Christian and divine mysteries, and not rather the dreams of men? Be these the faithful dispensers of God's mysteries, and not rather false dissipators of them? whom God never put in office, but rather the devil set them over a miserable family, over an house miserably ordered and entreated. Happy were the people if such preached seldom.

And yet it is a wonder to see these, in their generation, to be much more prudent and politic than the faithful ministers are in their generation; while they go about more prudently to stablish men's dreams, than these do to hold up God's commandments.

Thus it cometh to pass that works lucrative, will-works, men's fancies reign; but christian works, necessary works, fruitful works, be trodden under the foot. Thus the evil is much better set out by evil men, than the good by good men; because the evil be more wise than be the good in their generation. These be the false stewards, whom all good and faithful men every day accuse unto the rich master of the household, not without great heaviness, that they waste his goods; whom he also one day will call to him, and say to them as he did to his steward, when he said, "What is this that I hear of thee?" Here God partly wondereth at our ingratitude and perfidy, partly chideth us for them; and being both full of wonder and ready to chide, asketh us, "What is this that I hear of you?" As though he should say unto us; "All good men in all places complain

of you, accuse your avarice, your exactions, your tyranny. They have required in you a long season, and yet require, diligence and sincerity. I commanded you, that with all industry and labour ye should feed my sheep: ye earnestly feed yourselves from day to day, wallowing in delights and idleness. I commanded you to teach my commandments, and not your fancies; and that ye should seek my glory and my vantage: you teach your own traditions, and seek your own glory and profit. You preach very seldom; and when ye do preach, do nothing but cumber them that preach truly, as much as lieth in you: that it were much better such were not to preach at all, than so perniciously to preach. Oh, what hear I of you? You, that ought to be my preachers, what other thing do you, than apply all your study hither, to bring all my preachers to envy, shame, contempt? Yea, more than this, ye pull them into perils, into prisons, and, as much as in you lieth, to cruel deaths. To be short, I would that christian people should hear my doctrine, and at their convenient leisure read it also, as many as would: your care is not that all men may hear it, but all your care is, that no lay man do read it: surely, being afraid lest they by the reading should understand it, and understanding, learn to rebuke our slothfulness. This is your generation, this is your dispensation, this is your wisdom. In this generation, in this dispensation, you be most politic, most witty. These be the things that I hear of your demeanour. I wished to hear better report of you. Have ye thus deceived me? or have ye rather deceived yourselves? Where I had but one house, that is to say, the church, and this so dearly beloved of me, that for the love of her I put myself forth to be slain, and to shed my blood; this church at my departure I committed unto your charge, to be fed, to be nourished, and to be made much of. My pleasure was ye should occupy my place; my desire was ye should have borne like love to this church, like fatherly affection, as I did: I made you my vicars, yea, in matters of most importance.

"For thus I taught openly: 'He that should hear you, should hear me; he that should despise you, should despise me.' I gave you also keys, not earthly keys, but heavenly. I left my goods that I have evermore most highly esteemed, that is, my word and sacraments, to be dispensed of you. These benefits I gave you, and do you give me these thanks? Can you find in your hearts thus to abuse my goodness, my

benignity, my gentleness? Have you thus deceived me? No, no, ye have not deceived me, but yourselves. My gifts and benefits toward you shall be to your greater damnation. Because you have contemned the lenity and clemency of the master of the house, ye have right well deserved to abide the rigour and severity of the judge. Come forth then, let us see an account of your stewardship. An horrible and fearful sentence: Ye may have no longer my goods in your hands. A voice to weep at, and to make men tremble!"

You see, brethren, you see, what evil the evil stewards must come to. Your labour is paid for, if ye can so take heed, that no such sentence be spoken to you; nay, we must all take heed lest these threatenings one day take place in us. But lest the length of my sermon offend you too sore, I will leave the rest of the parable and take me to the handling of the end of it; that is, I will declare unto you how the children of this world be more witty, crafty, and subtle, than are the children of the light in their generation. Which sentence would God it lay in my poor tongue to explicate with such light of words, that I might seem rather to have painted it before your eyes, than to have spoken it; and that you might rather seem to see the thing, than to hear it! But I confess plainly this thing to be far above my power. Therefore this being only left to me, I wish for that I have not, and am sorry that that is not in me which I would so gladly have, that is, power so to handle the thing that I have in hand, that all that I say may turn to the glory of God, your souls' health, and the edifying of Christ's body. Wherefore I pray you all to pray with me unto God, and that in your petition you desire, that these two things he vouchsafe to grant us, first, a mouth for me to speak rightly; next, ears for you, that in hearing me ye may take profit at my hand: and that this may come to effect, you shall desire him, unto whom our master Christ bad we should pray, saying even the same prayer that he himself did institute. Wherein ye shall pray for our most gracious sovereign lord the king, chief and supreme head of the church of England under Christ, and for the most excellent, gracious, and virtuous lady queen Jane[1], his most lawful wife, and for all his, whether they be of the clergy or laity, whether they be of the nobility, or else other his grace's subjects, not for-

[1] Jane Seymour, the third wife of Henry VIII.

getting those that being departed out of this transitory life, and now sleep in the sleep of peace, and rest from their labours in quietness and in peaceable sleep, faithfully, lovingly, and patiently looking for that that they clearly shall see when God shall be so pleased. For all these, and for grace necessary, ye shall say unto God God's prayer, *Pater noster*.

THE SECOND SERMON, IN THE AFTERNOON

Filii hujus seculi, &c.—Luc. xvi. [8].

Christ in this saying touched the sloth and sluggishness of his, and did not allow the fraud and subtlety of others; neither was glad that it was indeed as he had said, but complained rather that it should be so: as many men speak many things, not that they ought to be so, but that they are wont to be so. Nay, this grieved Christ, that the children of this world should be of more policy than the children of light; which thing was true in Christ's time, and now in our time is most true. Who is so blind but he seeth this clearly; except perchance there be any that cannot discern the children of the world from the children of light? The children of the world conceive and bring forth more prudently; and things conceived and brought forth they nourish and conserve with much more policy than do the children of light. Which thing is as sorrowful to be said, as it seemeth absurd to be heard. When ye hear the children of the world, you understand the world as a father. For the world is father of many children, not by the first creation and work, but by imitation of love. He is not only a father, but also the son of another father. If ye know once his father, by and by ye shall know his children. For he that hath the devil to his father, must needs have devilish children. The devil is not only taken for father, but also for prince of the world, that is, of worldly folk. It is either all one thing, or else not much different, to say, children of the world, and children of the devil; according to that that Christ said to the Jews, "Ye are of your father the devil:" where as undoubtedly he spake to children of this world. Now seeing the devil is both author and ruler of the darkness, in the which the children of this world walk, or, to say better, wander; they mortally hate both the light, and also the children of light. And hereof it cometh, that the children of

light never, or very seldom, lack persecution in this world, unto which the children of the world, that is, of the devil, bringeth them. And there is no man but he seeth, that these use much more policy in procuring the hurt and damage of the good, than those in defending themselves. Therefore, brethren, gather you the disposition and study of the children by the disposition and study of the fathers. Ye know this is a proverb much used: "An evil crow, an evil egg." Then the children of this world that are known to have so evil a father, the world, so evil a grandfather, the devil, cannot choose but be evil. Surely the first head of their ancestry was the deceitful serpent the devil, a monster monstrous above all monsters. I cannot wholly express him, I wot not what to call him, but a certain thing altogether made of the hatred of God, of mistrust in God, of lyings, deceits, perjuries, discords, manslaughters; and, to say at one word, a thing concrete, heaped up and made of all kind of mischief. But what the devil mean I to go about to describe particularly the devil's nature, when no reason, no power of man's mind can comprehend it? This alonely I can say grossly, and as in a sum, of the which all we (our hurt is the more) have experience, the devil to be a stinking sentine[1] of all vices; a foul filthy channel of all mischiefs; and that this world, his son, even a child meet to have such a parent, is not much unlike his father.

Then, this devil being such one as can never he unlike himself; lo, of Envy, his well beloved Leman[2], he begat the World, and after left it with Discord at nurse; which World, after that it came to man's state, had of many concubines many sons. He was so fecund a father, and had gotten so many children of Lady Pride, Dame Gluttony, Mistress Avarice, Lady Lechery, and of Dame Subtlety, that now hard and scant ye may find any corner, any kind of life, where many of his children be not. In court, in cowls, in cloisters, in rochets, be they never so white; yea, where shall ye not find them? Howbeit, they that be secular and laymen, are not by and by children of the world; nor they children of light, that are called spiritual, and of the clergy. No, no; as ye may find among the laity many children of light, so among the clergy, (how much soever we arrogate

[1] Sentine, *sentina*, kennel of collected filth.

[2] Leman, properly, a sweetheart of either sex, but the word was commonly used in a bad sense.

these holy titles unto us, and think them only attributed to us, *Vos estis lux mundi, peculium Christi, &c.* "Ye are the light of the world, the chosen people of Christ, a kingly priesthood, an holy nation, and such other,") ye shall find many children of the world; because in all places the world getteth many children. Among the lay people the world ceaseth not to bring to pass, that as they be called worldly, so they are worldly indeed; driven headlong by worldly desires: insomuch that they may right well seem to have taken as well the manners as the name of their father. In the clergy, the world also hath learned a way to make of men spiritual, worldlings; yea, and there also to form worldly children, where with great pretence of holiness, and crafty colour of religion, they utterly desire to hide and cloak the name of the world, as though they were ashamed of their father; which do execrate and detest the world (being nevertheless their father) in words and outward signs, but in heart and work they coll[1] and kiss him, and in all their lives declare themselves to be his babes; insomuch that in all worldly points they far pass and surmount those that they call seculars, laymen, men of the world. The child so diligently followeth the steps of his father, is never destitute of the aid of his grandfather. These be our holy holy men, that say they are dead to the world, when no men be more lively in worldly things than some of them be. But let them be in profession and name most farthest from the world, most alienate from it; yea so far, that they may seem to have no occupying, no kindred, no affinity, nothing to do with it: yet in their life and deeds they shew themselves no bastards, but right begotten children of the world; as that which the world long sithens had by his dear wife Dame Hypocrisy, and since hath brought them up and multiplied to more than a good many; increased them too much, albeit they swear by all he-saints and she-saints too, that they know not their father, nor mother, neither the world, nor hypocrisy; as indeed they can semble and dissemble all things; which thing they might learn wonderful well of their parents. I speak not of all religious men, but of those that the world hath fast knit at his girdle, even in the midst of their religion, that is, of many and more than many. For I fear, lest in all orders of men the better, I must say the greater part of them be out of order, and

[1] French *accoler*, to hang round the neck.

children of the world. Many of these might seem ingrate and unkind children, that will no better acknowledge and recognise their parents in words and outward pretence, but abrenounce and cast them off, as though they hated them as dogs and serpents. Howbeit they, in this wise, are most grateful to their parents, because they be most like them, so lively representing them in countenance and conditions, that their parents seem in them to be young again, forasmuch as they ever say one thing and think another. They shew themselves to be as sober, as temperate, as Curius the Roman was, and live every day as though all their life were a shroving time. They be like their parents, I say, inasmuch as they, in following them, seem and make men believe they hate them. Thus grandfather Devil, father World, and mother Hypocrisy, have brought them up. Thus good obedient sons have borne away their parents' commandments; neither these be solitary, how religious, how mocking, how monking, I would say, soever they be.

O ye will lay this to my charge, that *monachus* and *solitarius* signifieth all one. I grant this to be so, yet these be so solitary that they be not alone, but accompanied with great flocks of fraternities. And I marvel if there be not a great sort of bishops and prelates, that are brethren germain unto these; and as a great sort, so even as right born, and world's children by as good title as they. But because I cannot speak of all, when I say prelates, I understand bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, and other of such sort, that are now called to this convocation, as I see, to entreat here of nothing but of such matters as both appertain to the glory of Christ, and to the wealth of the people of England. Which thing I pray God they do as earnestly as they ought to do. But it is to be feared lest, as light hath many her children here, so the world hath sent some of his whelps hither: amongst the which I know there can be no concord nor unity, albeit they be in one place, in one congregation. I know there can be no agreement between these two, as long as they have minds so unlike, and so contrary affections, judgments so utterly diverse in all points. But if the children of this world be either more in number, or more prudent than the children of light, what then availeth us to have this convocation? Had it not been better we had not been called together at all? For as the children of this world be evil, so they breed and bring forth things evil;

and yet there be more of them in all places, or at the least they be more politic than the children of light in their generation. And here I speak of the generation whereby they do engender, and not of that whereby they are engendered, because it should be too long to entreat how the children of light are engendered, and how they come in at the door; and how the children of the world be engendered, and come in another way. Howbeit, I think all you that be here were not engendered after one generation, neither that ye all came by your promotions after one manner: God grant that ye, engendered worldly, do not engender worldly: and as now I much pass not how ye were engendered, or by what means ye were promoted to those dignities that ye now occupy, so it be honest, good and profitable, that ye in this your consultation shall do and engender.

The end of your convocation shall shew what ye have done; the fruit that shall come of your consultation shall shew what generation ye be of. For what have ye done hitherto, I pray you, these seven years and more? What have ye engendered? What have ye brought forth? What fruit is come of your long and great assembly? What one thing that the people of England hath been the better of a hair; or you yourselves, either more accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people committed unto your cure? For that the people is better learned and taught now, than they were in time past, to whether of these ought we to attribute it, to your industry, or to the providence of God, and the foreseeing of the king's grace? Ought we to thank you, or the king's highness? Whether stirred other first, you the king, that he might preach, or he you by his letters, that ye should preach oftener? Is it unknown, think you, how both ye and your curates were, in [a] manner, by violence enforced to let books to be made, not by you, but by profane and lay persons; to let them, I say, be sold abroad, and read for the instruction of the people? I am bold with you, but I speak Latin and not English, to the clergy, not to the laity; I speak to you being present, and not behind your backs. God is my witness, I speak whatsoever is spoken of the good-will that I bear you; God is my witness, which knoweth my heart, and compelleth me to say that I say.

Now, I pray you in God's name, what did you, so great fathers, so many, so long a season, so oft assembled together?

What went you about? What would ye have brought to pass? Two things taken away—the one, that ye (which I heard) burned a dead man[1]; the other, that ye (which I felt) went about to burn one being alive: him, because he did, I cannot tell how, in his testament withstand your profit; in other points, as I have heard, a very good man; reported to be of an honest life while he lived, full of good works, good both to the clergy, and also to the laity: this other,[2] which truly never hurt any of you, ye would have raked in the coals, because he would not subscribe to certain articles that took away the supremacy of the king:—take away these two noble acts, and there is nothing else left that ye went about, that I know, saving that I now remember, that somewhat ye attempted against Erasmus,[3] albeit as yet nothing is come to light. Ye have oft sat in consultation, but what have ye done? Ye have had many things in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or else Christ's people made more holy? I appeal to your own conscience. How chanced this? How came it thus? Because there were no children of light, no children of God amongst you, which, setting the world at nought, would study to illustrate the glory of God, and thereby shew themselves children of light? I think not so, certainly I think not so. God forbid, that all you, which were gathered together under the pretence of light, should be children of the world! Then why happened this? Why, I pray you? Perchance, either because the children of the world were more in number in this your congregation, as it oft happeneth, or at the least of more policy than the children of light in their generation: whereby it might very soon be brought to pass, that these were much more stronger in gendering the evil, than these in producing the good. The children of light have policy, but it is like the policy of the serpent, and is joined with doveish simplicity. They engender nothing but simply, faithfully, and plainly, even so doing all that they do. And therefore they may with more facility be cumbered in their engendering, and be the more ready to take injuries. But the children of this world have worldly policy, foxly craft, lion-like cruelty, power to do hurt,

[1] The body of William Tracy, in the year 1532.

[2] Latimer himself.

[3] An allusion to the attempt of Dr. Standish (1520) to fasten the charge of heresy on Erasmus,

more than either *aspis* or *basiliscus*, engendering and doing all things fraudulently, deceitfully, guilefully: which as Nimrods and such sturdy and stout hunters, being full of simulation and dissimulation before the Lord, deceive the children of light, and cumber them easily. Hunters go not forth in every man's sight, but do their affairs closely, and with use of guile and deceit wax every day more craftier than other.

The children of this world be like crafty hunters; they be misnamed children of light, forasmuch as they so hate light, and so study to do the works of darkness. If they were the children of light, they would not love darkness. It is no marvel that they go about to keep other in darkness, seeing they be in darkness, from top to toe overwhelmed with darkness, darker than is the darkness of hell. Wherefore it is well done in all orders of men, but especial in the order of prelates, to put a difference between children of light and children of the world, because great deceit ariseth in taking the one for the other. Great imposture cometh, when they that the common people take for the light, go about to take the sun and the light out of the world. But these be easily known, both by the diversity of minds, and also their armours. For whereas the children of light are thus minded, that they seek their adversaries' health, wealth, and profit, with loss of their own commodities, and ofttimes with jeopardy of their life; the children of the world, contrariwise, have such stomachs, that they will sooner see them dead that doth them good, than sustain any loss of temporal things. The armour of the children of light are, first, the word of God, which they ever set forth, and with all diligence put it abroad, that, as much as in them lieth, it may bring forth fruit: after this, patience and prayer, with the which in all adversities the Lord comforteth them. Other things they commit to God, unto whom they leave all revengement. The armour of the children of the world are, sometime frauds and deceits, sometime lies and money: by the first they make their dreams, their traditions; by the second they stablish and confirm their dreams, be they never so absurd, never so against scripture, honesty, or reason. And if any man resist them, even with these weapons they procure to slay him. Thus they bought Christ's death, the very light itself, and obscured him after his death: thus they buy every day the children of light, and obscure

them, and shall so do, until the world be at an end. So that it may be ever true, that Christ said: "The children of the world be wiser, etc."

These worldlings pull down the lively faith, and full confidence that men have in Christ, and set up another faith, another confidence, of their own making: the children of light contrary. These worldlings set little by such works as God hath prepared for our salvation, but they extol traditions and works of their own invention: the children of light contrary. The worldlings, if they spy profit, gains, or lucre in any thing, be it never such a trifle, be it never so pernicious, they preach it to the people, (if they preach at any time,) and these things they defend with tooth and nail. They can scarce disallow the abuses of these, albeit they be intolerable, lest in disallowing the abuse they lose part of their profit. The children of the light contrary, put all things in their degree, best highest, next next, the worst lowest. They extol things necessary, christian, and commanded of God. They pull down will-works feigned by men, and put them in their place. The abuses of all things they earnestly rebuke. But yet these things be so done on both parties, and so they both do gender, that the children of the world shew themselves wiser than the children of light, and that frauds and deceits, lies and money, seem evermore to have the upper hand. I hold my peace; I will not say how fat feasts, and jolly banquets, be jolly instruments to set forth worldly matters withal. Neither the children of the world be only wiser than the children of light, but are also some of them among themselves much wiser than the other in their generation. For albeit, as touching the end, the generation of them all is one; yet in this same generation some of them have more craftily engendered than the other of their fellows.

For what a thing was that, that once every hundred year was brought forth in Rome of the children of this world, and with how much policy it was made, ye heard at Paul's Cross in the beginning of the last parliament: how some brought forth canonizations, some expectations,[1] some pluralities and unions, some tot-quots and dispensations, some

[1] *Gratiæ expectivæ*, or certain papal instruments by which benefices, not yet vacant, were prospectively made over to purchasers. Many laws were enacted in England against this intolerable abuse.

pardons, and these of wonderful variety, some stationaries,[1] some jubilaries,[2] some pocularies[3] for drinkers, some manuaries[4] for handlers of relicks, some pedaries[4] for pilgrims, some oscularies[5] for kissers; some of them engendered one, some other such fetures,[6] and every one in that he was delivered of, was excellent politic, wise; yea, so wise, that with their wisdom they had almost made all the world fools.

But yet they that begot and brought forth that our old ancient purgatory pick-purse; that that was swaged and cooled with a Franciscan's cowl, put upon a dead man's back, to the fourth part of his sins; that that was utterly to be spoiled, and of none other but of our most prudent lord Pope, and of him as oft as him listed; that satisfactory, that missal, that scalary[7]: they, I say, that were the wise fathers and genitors of this purgatory, were in my mind the wisest of all their generation, and so far pass the children of light, and also the rest of their company, that they both are but fools, if ye compare them with these. It was a pleasant fiction, and from the beginning so profitable to the feigners of it, that almost, I dare boldly say, there hath been no emperor that hath gotten more by taxes and tallager of them that were alive, than these, the very and right-begotten sons of the world, got by dead men's tributes and gifts. If there

[1] During a time of pestilence, Gregory I. appointed certain litanies and masses to be sung in the principal churches in Rome on certain fixed days, for the remission of sins. These solemnities were continued ever afterwards on stated occasions, and denominated *Stations*, *quasi statas*, i.e. *certis anni diebus ac statutis celebres*. Pol. Vergil, De rerum Inventoribus, Lib. VIII. c. 1.

[2] Pope Boniface VIII. instituted the first *jubilee* at Rome in the year 1300, promising plenary remission of sins to all who should visit Rome at that festival. These jubilees were at first ordered to be celebrated once in 100 years; but Clement VI. shortened that period to 50 years; Paul II. (who was followed herein by Sextus IV.) reduced the interval to 25 years; whilst Alexander VI., to increase his revenue, assigned jubilees to be held in provinces and countries at a distance from Rome, as well as in Rome itself.

[3] Consecrated drinking-vessels.

[4] Consecrated gloves and sandals.

[5] Consecrated tablets on which were representations of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, or of some saint. Virtues, pardons, merits, &c. of various kinds were supposed to be derived from the purchase and use of these several consecrated articles, e g. the *pardon-bowl* mentioned by Latimer in his sermon "Of the Plough," p. 68.

[6] Fetures: births or productions.

[7] Masses-satisfactory,—soul-masses,—masses of *scala cœli*.

be some in England, that would this sweeting of the world to be with no less policy kept still than it was born and brought forth in Rome, who then can accuse Christ of lying? No, no; as it hath been ever true, so it shall be, that the children of the world be much wiser, not only in making their things, but also in conserving them. I wot not what it is, but somewhat it is I wot, that some men be so loth to see the abuse of this monster, purgatory, which abuse is more than abominable: as who should say, there is none abuse in it, or else as though there can be none in it. They may seem heartily to love the old thing, that thus earnestly endeavour them to restore him his old name. They would not set an hair by the name, but for the thing. They be not so ignorant, (no, they be crafty,) but that they know if the name come again, the thing will come after. Thereby it ariseth, that some men make their cracks, that they, maugre all men's heads, have found purgatory. I cannot tell what is found. This, to pray for dead folks, this is not found, for it was never lost. How can that be found that was not lost? O subtle finders, that can find things, if God will, ere they be lost! For that cowlish deliverance, their scalary loosings, their papal spoliations, and other such their figments, they cannot find. No, these be so lost, as they themselves grant, that though they seek them never so diligently, yet they shall not find them, except perchance they hope to see them come in again with their names; and that then money-gathering may return again, and deceit walk about the country, and so stablish their kingdom in all kingdoms. But to what end this chiding between the children of the world and the children of light will come, only he knoweth that once shall judge them both.

Now, to make haste and to come somewhat nigher the end. Go ye to, good brethren and fathers, for the love of God, go ye to; and seeing we are here assembled, let us do something whereby we may be known to be the children of light. Let us do somewhat, lest we, which hitherto have been judged children of the world, seem even still to be so. All men call us prelates: then, seeing we be in council, let us so order ourselves, that we be prelates in honour and dignity; so we may be prelates in holiness, benevolence, diligence, and sincerity. All men know that we be here gathered, and with most fervent desire they anheale [1], breathe,

[1] Are breathlessly anxious, (*anhelare*).

and gape for the fruit of our convocation: as our acts shall be, so they shall name us: so that now it lieth in us, whether we will be called children of the world, or children of light.

Wherefore lift up your heads, brethren, and look about with your eyes, spy what things are to be reformed in the church of England. Is it so hard, is it so great a matter for you to see many abuses in the clergy, many in the laity? What is done in the Arches[1]? Nothing to be amended? What do they there? Do they evermore rid the people's business and matters, or cumber and ruffle them? Do they evermore correct vice, or else defend it, sometime being well corrected in other places? How many sentences be given there in time, as they ought to be? If men say truth, how many without bribes? Or if all things be well done there, what do men in bishops' Consistories[2]? Shall you often see the punishments assigned by the laws executed, or else money-redemptions used in their stead? How think you by the ceremonies that are in England, oft-times, with no little offence of weak consciences, contemned; more oftener with superstition so defiled, and so depraved, that you may doubt whether it were better some of them to tarry still, or utterly to take them away? Have not our forefathers complained of the ceremonies, of the superstition, and estimation of them?

Do ye see nothing in our holidays? of the which very few were made at the first, and they to set forth goodness, virtue, and honesty: but sithens, in some places, there is neither mean nor measure in making new holidays, as who should say, this one thing is serving of God, to make this law, that no man may work. But what doth the people on these holidays? Do they give themselves to godliness, or else ungodliness? See ye nothing, brethren? If you see not, yet God seeth. God seeth all the whole holidays to be spent miserably in drunkenness, in glossing, in strife, in envy, in dancing, dicing, idleness, and gluttony. He seeth all this, and threateneth punishment for it. He seeth it, which neither is deceived in seeing, nor deceiveth when he threateneth.

[1] The chief and most ancient Consistory court belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury.

[2] All bishops have a *Consistory* court for the trial of ecclesiastical causes arising within their respective dioceses.

Thus men serve the devil; for God is not thus served, albeit ye say ye serve God. No, the devil hath more service done unto him on one holiday, than on many working days. Let all these abuses be counted as nothing, who is he that is not sorry, to see in so many holidays rich and wealthy persons to flow in delicates, and men that live by their travail, poor men, to lack necessary meat and drink for their wives and their children, and that they cannot labour upon the holidays, except they will be cited, and brought before our Officials? Were it not the office of good prelates to consult upon these matters, and to seek some remedy for them? Ye shall see, my brethren, ye shall see once, what will come of this our winking.

What think ye of these images that are had more than their fellows in reputation; that are gone unto with such labour and weariness of the body, frequented with such our cost, sought out and visited with such confidence? What say ye by these images, that are so famous, so noble, so noted, being of them so many and so divers in England? Do you think that this preferring of picture to picture, image to image, is the right use, and not rather the abuse, of images? But you will say to me, Why make ye all these interrogations? and why, in these your demands, do you let and withdraw the good devotion of the people? Be not all things well done, that are done with good intent, when they be profitable to us? So, surely, covetousness both thinketh and speaketh. Were it not better for us, more for estimation, more meeter for men in our places, to cut away a piece of this our profit, if we will not cut away all, than to wink at such ungodliness, and so long to wink for a little lucre; specially if it be ungodliness, and also seem unto you ungodliness? These be two things, so oft to seek mere images, and sometime to visit the relicks of saints. And yet, as in those there may be much ungodliness committed, so there may here some superstition be hid, if that sometime we chance to visit pigs' bones instead of saints' relicks, as in time past it hath chanced, I had almost said, in England. Then this is too great a blindness, a darkness too sensible, that these should be so commended in sermons of some men, and preached to be done after such manner, as though they could not be evil done; which, notwithstanding, are such, that neither God nor man commandeth them to be done. No, rather, men commanded them either not to be done at

all, or else more slowlier and seldomer to be done, forasmuch as our ancestors made this constitution: "We command the priests, that they oft admonish the people, and in especial women, that they make no vows but after long deliberation, consent of their husbands, and counsel of the priest." The church of England in time past made this constitution. What saw they that made this decree? They saw the intolerable abuses of images. They saw the perils that might ensue of going on pilgrimage. They saw the superstitious difference that men made between image and image. Surely, somewhat they saw. The constitution is so made, that in manner it taketh away all such pilgrimages. For it so plucketh away the abuse of them, that it leaveth either none, or else seldom use of them. For they that restrain making vows for going of pilgrimage, restrain also pilgrimage; seeing that for the most part it is seen that few go on pilgrimage but vow-makers, and such as by promise bind themselves to go. And when, I pray you, should a man's wife go on pilgrimage, if she went not before she had well debated the matter with herself, and obtained the consent of her husband, being a wise man, and were also counselled by a learned priest so to do? When should she go far off to these famous images? For this the common people of England think to be going on pilgrimage; to go to some dead and notable image out of town, that is to say, far from their house. Now if your forefathers made this constitution, and yet thereby did nothing, the abuses every day more and more increased, what is left for you to do? Brethren and fathers, if ye purpose to do any thing, what should ye sooner do, than to take utterly away these deceitful and juggling images; or else, if ye know any other mean to put away abuses, to shew it, if ye intend to remove abuses? Methink it should be grateful and pleasant to you to mark the earnest mind of your forefathers, and to look upon their desire where they say in their constitution, "We *command* you," and not, "We *counsel* you." How have we been so long a-cold, so long slack in setting forth so wholesome a precept of the church of England, where we be so hot in all things that have any gains in them, albeit they be neither commanded us, nor yet given us by counsel; as though we had lever the abuse of things should tarry still than, it taken away, lose our profit? To let pass the solemn and nocturnal bacchanals, the prescript miracles, that are done upon certain days in the west

part of England, who hath not heard? I think ye have heard of St Blesis's [1] heart which is at Malverne, and of St Algar's [2] bones, how long they deluded the people: I am afraid, to the loss of many souls. Whereby men may well conjecture, that all about in this realm there is plenty of such juggling deceits. And yet hitherto ye have sought no remedy. But even still the miserable people are suffered to take the false miracles for the true, and to lie still asleep in all kind of superstition. God have mercy upon us!

Last of all, how think you of matrimony? Is all well here? What of baptism? Shall we evermore in ministering of it speak Latin, and not in English rather, that the people may know what is said and done?

What think ye of these mass-priests, and of the masses themselves? What say ye? Be all things here so without abuses, that nothing ought to be amended? Your forefathers saw somewhat, which made this constitution against the venality and sale of masses, that, under pain of suspending, no priest should sell his saying of tricennals [3] or annals.[4] What saw they, that made this constitution? What priests saw they? What manner of masses saw they, trow ye? But at the last, what became of so good a constitution? God have mercy upon us! If there be nothing to be amended abroad, concerning the whole, let every one of us make one better; if there be neither abroad nor at home any thing to be amended and redressed, my lords, be ye of good cheer, be merry; and at the least, because we have nothing else to do, let us reason the matter how we may be richer. Let us fall to some pleasant communication;

[1] Probably St Blaise.

[2] Probably Algar the father of Fremond, the latter being a Mercian saint in great odour.

[3] Tricennals or *Trentals*—"a trentall of masses:...What masses shoulde they be? Thre Masses of the nativity of our Lord: Thre Masses of the Epiphanie of our Lord: Thre of the purification of our Lady: Thre of the annunciation of our Lady: Thre of the resurrection of our Lord: Thre of the ascension of our Lord: Thre of Penthecost: Thre of the Trinitie: Thre of the assumption of our Lady; And of her nativitie; so that these masses be celebrated within the *octaves* of the said feasts." Becon, Works, III. fol. 366.

[4] "*Annals* or *Annuals* was a yearly mass said for a certain dead person, upon the anniversary day of his death." Johnson, Collection of all the Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. Vol. II. anno 1236, n. 8. A mass said for the soul of a deceased person every day for a whole year, was also called an Annal.

after let us go home, even as good as we came hither, that is, right-begotten children of the world, and utterly worldlings. And while we live here, let us all make bone cheer. For after this life there is small pleasure, little mirth for us to hope for; if now there be nothing to be changed in our fashions. Let us say, not as St Peter did, "Our end approacheth nigh," this is an heavy hearing; but let us say as the evil servant said, "It will be long ere my master come." This is pleasant. Let us beat our fellows: let us eat and drink with drunkards. Surely, as oft as we do not take away the abuse of things, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we give not the people their true food, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we let them die in superstition, so oft we beat them. To be short, as oft as we blind lead them blind, so oft we beat, and grievously beat our fellows. When we welter in pleasures and idleness, then we eat and drink with drunkards. But God will come, God will come, he will not tarry long away. He will come upon such a day as we nothing look for him, and at such hour as we know not. He will come and cut us in pieces. He will reward us as he doth the hypocrites. He will set us where wailing shall be, my brethren; where gnashing of teeth shall be, my brethren. And let here be the end of our tragedy, if ye will. These be the delicate dishes prepared for the world's well-beloved children. These be the wafers and junkets provided for worldly prelates,—wailing and gnashing of teeth. Can there be any mirth, where these two courses last all the feast? Here we laugh, there we shall weep. Our teeth make merry here, ever dashing in delicates; there we shall be torn with teeth, and do nothing but gnash and grind our own. To what end have we now excelled other in policy? What have we brought forth at the last? Ye see, brethren, what sorrow, what punishment is provided for you, if ye be worldlings. If ye will not thus be vexed, be ye not the children of the world. If ye will not be the children of the world, be not stricken with the love of worldly things; lean not upon them. If ye will not die eternally, live not worldly. Come, go to; leave the love of your profit; study for the glory and profit of Christ; seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth at the last somewhat that may please Christ. Feed ye tenderly, with all diligence, the flock of Christ. Preach truly the word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the

children of light while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to whom be all honour, praise, and glory. Amen.

[The picture of superstitions, of clerical misdoings, and papal abuses, which this Sermon presents, will not appear too highly coloured to any who are at all acquainted with the then existing state of things. Dean Colet had, twenty-five years earlier, preached a sermon before the convocation, in which he dwelt on the need of a Reformation, in language quite as strong as that employed by bishop Latimer. See Knight's Life of Colet, pp. 289—308. It is scarcely necessary to remind the learned reader of the enumeration of abuses contained in the Appendix to Wicelius' *Via Regia*, nor of those recited in the memorial presented to pope Paul III. by the Cardinals Contarini, Sadolet, Pole, and other eminent Romanists.]

SERMON OF THE PLOUGH

A Sermon of the Reverend Father Master Hugh Latimer, Preached in the Shrouds [1] *at Paul's Church in London, on the Eighteenth day of January, Anno* 1548.

Quæcunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.—ROM. xv. 4.

"ALL things which are written, are written for our erudition and knowledge. All things that are written in God's book, in the Bible book, in the book of the holy scripture, are written to be our doctrine."

I told you in my first sermon, honourable audience, that I purposed to declare unto you two things. The one, what seed should be sown in God's field, in God's plough land; and the other, who should be the sowers: that is to say, what doctrine is to be taught in Christ's church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it. The first part I have told you in the three sermons past, in which I have assayed to set forth my plough, to prove what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the ploughers: for God's word is a seed to be sown in God's field, that is, the faithful congregation, and the preacher is the sower. And it is in the gospel: "*Exivit qui seminat seminare semen suum;* "He that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman, went forth to sow his seed." So that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in another place: *Nemo admota aratro manu, et a tergo respiciens, aptus est regno Dei.* "No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God." That is to say, let no preacher be negligent in doing his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath been racked, as I told you of racking scriptures. And I have been one of them myself that hath racked it, I cry God

[1] The sermons usually preached at St. Paul's Cross were, in rainy or inclement weather, "preached in a place called *The Shrouds*, which was, as it seems, by the side of the cathedral church where was covering and shelter."—Stow.

mercy for it; and have been one of them that hath believed and expounded it against religious persons that would forsake their order which they had professed, and would go out of their cloister: whereas indeed it toucheth not monkery, nor maketh any thing at all for any such matter; but it is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God.

For preaching of the gospel is one of God's plough-works, and the preacher is one of God's ploughmen. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labour and work of ploughing, and the preacher to a ploughman: ye may not be offended with this my similitude; for I have been slandered of some persons for such things. It hath been said of me, "Oh, Latimer! nay, as for him, I will never believe him while I live, nor never trust him; for he likened our blessed lady to a saffron-bag:" where indeed I never used that similitude. But it was, as I have said unto you before now, according to that which Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and said, that there should come after men *per quos via veritatis maledictis afficeretur;* there should come fellows "by whom the way of truth should be evil spoken of, and slandered." But in case I had used this similitude, it had not been to be reproved, but might have been without reproach. For I might have said thus: as the saffron-bag that hath been full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth ever after savour and smell of the sweet saffron that it contained; so our blessed lady, which conceived and bare Christ in her womb, did ever after resemble the manners and virtues of that precious babe that she bare. And what had our blessed lady been the worse for this? or what dishonour was this to our blessed lady? But as preachers must be wary and circumspect, that they give not only just occasion to be slandered and ill spoken of by the hearers, so must not the auditors be offended without cause. For heaven is in the gospel likened to a mustard-seed: it is compared also to a piece of leaven; and as Christ saith, that at the last day he will come like a thief: and what dishonour is this to God? or what derogation is this to heaven? Ye may not then, I say, be offended with my similitude, for because I liken preaching to a ploughman's labour, and a prelate to a ploughman. But now you will ask me, whom I call a prelate? A prelate is that man, whatsoever he be, that hath a flock to be taught of him; whosoever hath any spiritual

charge in the faithful congregation, and whosoever he be that hath cure of souls. And well may the preacher and the ploughman be likened together: first, for their labour of all seasons of the year; for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do: as in my country in Leicestershire, the ploughman hath a time to set forth, and to assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometime ridgeth it up again; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometime dungeth it and hedgeth it, diggeth it and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean: so the prelate, the preacher, hath many diverse offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it, and not a swerving faith; but to a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merits; a lively faith, a justifying faith; a faith that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works: as ye have it very well declared and set forth in the Homily. He hath then a busy work, I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith: now casting them down with the law, and with threatenings of God for sin; now ridging them up again with the gospel, and with the promises of God's favour: now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supplehearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh; that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in: now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and their neighbours: now exhorting them, when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it; so that they have a continual work to do. Great is their business, and therefore great should be their hire. They have great labours, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock; for the preaching of the word of God unto the people is called meat: scripture calleth it meat; not strawberries, that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone: but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a

strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year; but such do not the office of good prelates. For Christ saith, *Quis putas est servus prudens et fidelis? Qui dat cibum in tempore.* "Who think you is a wise and a faithful servant? He that giveth meat in due time." So that he must at all times convenient preach diligently: therefore saith he, "Who trow ye is a faithful servant?" He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one, and as though he should say, there be but a few of them to find in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realm that give meat to their flock as they should do, the Visitors can best tell. Too few, too few; the more is the pity, and never so few as now.

By this, then, it appeareth that a prelate, or any that hath cure of soul, must diligently and substantially work and labour. Therefore saith Paul to Timothy, *Qui episcopatum desiderat, hic bonum opus desiderat:* "He that desireth to have the office of a bishop, or a prelate, that man desireth a good work." Then if it be a good work, it is work; ye can make but a work of it. It is God's work, God's plough, and that plough God would have still going. Such then as loiter and live idly, are not good prelates, or ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, nor do their duties, God saith by his prophet Jeremy, *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei fradulenter;* "Cursed be the man that doth the work of God fraudulently, guilefully or deceitfully:" some books have it *negligenter*, "negligently or slackly." How many such prelates, how many such bishops, Lord, for thy mercy, are there now in England! And what shall we in this case do? shall we company with them? O Lord, for thy mercy! shall we not company with them? O Lord, whither shall we flee from them? But "cursed be he that doth the work of God negligently or guilefully." A sore word for them that are negligent in discharging their office, or have done it fraudulently; for that is the thing thatmaketh the people ill.

But true it must be that Christ saith, *Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi:* "Many are called, but few are chosen." Here have I an occasion by the way somewhat to say unto you; yea, for the place I alleged unto you before out of Jeremy, the forty-eighth chapter. And it was spoken of a spiritual work of God, a work that was commanded to be done; and it was of shedding blood, and of destroying the cities of Moab. For, saith he, "Cursed be he that keepeth

back his sword from shedding of blood." As Saul, when he kept back the sword from shedding of blood at what time he was sent against Amaleck, was refused of God for being disobedient to God's commandment, in that he spared Agag the king. So that that place of the prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reproved for idolatry, superstition, pride, avarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardness of heart; and for these sins was plagued of God and destroyed.

Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of London? What shall I say of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London? No, no, I may not say so; they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, and as much superstition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore I say, repent, O London; repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faults told thee, amend them, amend them. I think, if Nebo had had the preaching that thou hast, they would have converted. And, you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your charge, and see you do your duties; and rather be glad to amend your ill living than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado was there made in London at a certain man, because he said, (and indeed at that time on a just cause,) "Burgesses!" quoth he, "nay, Butterflies." Lord, what ado there was for that word! And yet would God they were no worse than butterflies! Butterflies do but their nature: the butterfly is not covetous, is not greedy, of other men's goods; is not full of envy and hatred, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God's word; it committeth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods. But London cannot abide to be rebuked; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick; if they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince; but yet they will not amend their faults, they will not be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God, and favour good preachers, if you could bear to be told of your faults, if you could amend when you hear of them, if you would be glad to

reform that is amiss; if I might see any such inclination in you, that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would then speak well of you. But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to call it, and perish there for hunger: was there ever more unmercifulness in Nebo? I think not. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the Universities with exhibition. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money toward the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London: but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I inquire of it, and hearken for it; but now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar, nor yet the poor. And in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars? Marry, they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists, and professed the pope's doctrine: and now that the knowledge of God's word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.

Oh London, London! repent, repent; for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Repent therefore, repent, London, and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God, and none other; and he will punish sin as well now as he did then: and he will punish the iniquity of London, as well as he did then of Nebo. Amend therefore. And ye that be prelates, look well to your office; for right prelating is busy labouring, and not lording. Therefore preach and teach, and let your plough be doing. Ye lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office; the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation: let your plough therefore be going, and not cease, that the ground may bring forth fruit.

But now methinketh I hear one say unto me: Wot ye what you say? Is it a work? Is it a labour? How then hath it happened that we have had so many hundred years

so many unpreaching prelates, lording loiterers, and idle ministers? Ye would have me here to make answer, and to shew the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough; it is too stony, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to lay for themselves, that it is not for my weak team to plough them. They have to lay for themselves long customs, ceremonies and authority, placing in parliament, and many things more. And I fear me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed: for, as the saying is, it lacketh weathering: this gear lacketh weathering; at least way it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look for among thorns, but pricking and scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What (I had almost said) among serpents, but stinging? But this much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down, contrary to the apostles' times: for they preached and lorded not, and now they lord and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to plough: it is no meet office for them; it is not seeming for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers: thus crept in unpreaching prelates; and so have they long continued. For how many unlearned prelates have we now at this day! And no marvel: for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing; they would leave off their labour, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand: and then both ploughs not walking, nothing should be in the commonweal but hunger. For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, the plough standeth; there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice; they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside: and by their lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus if the ploughmen of the country were as negligent in their office as prelates be, we should not long live, for lack of sustenance. And as it is necessary for to have this ploughing for the sustentation of the body, so must we have also the other for the satisfaction of the soul, or else we cannot live long ghostly. For as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lack of bodily meat, so doth the soul pine away for default of ghostly meat. But there be two kinds of inclosing, to let or hinder both these kinds of

ploughing; the one is an inclosing to let or hinder the bodily ploughing, and the other to let or hinder the holiday-ploughing, the church-ploughing.

The bodily ploughing is taken in and inclosed through singular commodity. For what man will let go, or diminish his private commodity for a commonwealth? And who will sustain any damage for the respect of a public commodity? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forward, nor no man will hearken to it. But to hinder and let it all men's ears are open; yea, and a great many of this kind of ploughmen, which are very busy, and would seem to be very good workmen. I fear me some be rather mock-gospellers, than faithful ploughmen. I know many myself that profess the gospel, and live nothing thereafter. I know them, and have been conversant with some of them. I know them, and (I speak it with a heavy heart) there is as little charity and good living in them as in any other; according to that which Christ said in the gospel to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had had any earnest zeal to his doctrine, whereas indeed they had it not; *Non quia vidistis signa, sed quia comedistis de panibus.* "Ye follow me," saith he, "not because ye have seen the signs and miracles that I have done; but because ye have eaten the bread, and refreshed your bodies, therefore you follow me." So that I think many one now-a-days professeth the gospel for the living's sake, not for the love they bear to God's word. But they that will be true ploughmen must work faithfully for God's sake, for the edifying of their brethren. And as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustentation of the body, so diligently must the prelates and ministers labour for the feeding of the soul: both the ploughs must still be going, as most necessary for man. And wherefore are magistrates ordained, but that the tranquillity of the commonweal may be confirmed, limiting both ploughs?

But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methink I could guess what might be said for excusing of them. They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships,

that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the parliament, some are presidents, and comptrollers of mints.

Well, well, is this their duty? Is this their office? Is this their calling? Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mints? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? Is this his charge? I would here ask one question: I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish, while he controlleth the mint? If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the deacons, shall one leave it for minting? I cannot tell you; but the saying is, that since priests have been minters, money hath been worse than it was before. And they say that the evilness of money hath made all things dearer. And in this behalf I must speak to England. "Hear, my country, England," as Paul said in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter; for Paul was no sitting bishop, but a walking and a preaching bishop. But when he went from them, he left there behind him the plough going still; for he wrote unto them, and rebuked them for going to law, and pleading their causes before heathen judges: "Is there," saith he, "utterly among you no wise man, to be an arbitrator in matters of judgment? What, not one of all that can judge between brother and brother; but one brother goeth to law with another, and that under heathen judges? *Constituite contemptos qui sunt in ecclesia*, &c. Appoint them judges that are most abject and vile in the congregation." Which he speaketh in rebuking them; "For," saith he, *ad erubescentiam vestram dico*—"I speak it to your shame." So, England, I speak it to thy shame: is there never a nobleman to be a lord president, but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint? "I speak it to your shame. I speak it to your shame." If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobbler, a slave, a page, comptroller of the mint: make a mean gentleman, a groom, a yeoman, or a poor beggar, lord president.

Thus I speak, not that I would have it so; but "to your shame," if there be never a gentleman meet nor able to be lord president. For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in knowledge of God,

and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal? The king hath a great many of wards, and I trow there is a Court of Wards: why is there not a school for the wards, as well as there is a Court for their lands? Why are they not set in schools where they may learn? Or why are they not sent to the universities, that they may be able to serve the king when they come to age? If the wards and young gentlemen were well brought up in learning, and in the knowledge of God, they would not when they come to age so much give themselves to other vanities. And if the nobility be well trained in godly learning, the people would follow the same train. For truly, such as the noblemen be, such will the people be. And now, the only cause why noblemen be not made lord presidents, is because they have not been brought up in learning.

Therefore for the love of God appoint teachers and schoolmasters, you that have charge of youth; and give the teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in grammar, in logic, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the civil law, and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the word of God. Thanks be unto God, the nobility otherwise is very well brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England; so that there is now good hope in the youth, that we shall another day have a flourishing commonweal, considering their godly education. Yea, and there be already noblemen enough, though not so many as I would wish, able to be lord presidents, and wise men enough for the mint. And as unmeet a thing it is for bishops to be lord presidents, or priests to be minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variance before heathen judges. It is also a slander to the noblemen, as though they lacked wisdom and learning to be able for such offices, or else were no men of conscience, or else were not meet to be trusted, and able for such offices. And a prelate hath a charge and cure otherwise; and therefore he cannot discharge his duty and be a lord president too. For a presidentship requireth a whole man; and a bishop cannot be two men. A bishop hath his office, a flock to teach, to look unto; and therefore he cannot meddle with another office, which alone requireth a whole man: he should therefore give it over to whom it is meet, and labour in his own business; as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians, "Let every man do his own business, and follow his calling." Let the

priest preach, and the noblemen handle the temporal matters. Moses was a marvellous man, a good man: Moses was a wonderful fellow, and did his duty, being a married man: we lack such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would look to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should have a flourishing christian commonweal.

And now I would ask a strange question: who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him who it is; I know him well. But now I think I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you: it is the devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other; he is never out of his diocess; he is never from his cure; ye shall never find him unoccupied; he is ever in his parish; he keepeth residence at all times; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when you will he is ever at home; the diligentest preacher in all the realm; he is ever at his plough: no lording nor loitering can hinder him; he is ever applying his business, ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery. He is ready as he can be wished for to set forth his plough; to devise as many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books, and up with candles; away with bibles, and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry; censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing; as though man could invent a better way to honour God with than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pickpurse, up with him, the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor and impotent; up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stocks and stones: up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and his most holy word. Down with the old honour due to God, and up with the new god's honour. Let all things be done in Latin: there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as *Memento, homo, quod cinis*

es, et in cinerem reverteris: "Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes thou shalt return:" which be the words that the minister speaketh unto the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash-Wednesday; but it must be spoken in Latin: God's word may in no wise be translated into English.

Oh that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine, as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel! And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin, and letteth the fruitful edification. But here some man will say to me, What, sir, are ye so privy of the devil's counsel, that ye know all this to be true? Truly I know him too well, and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies; and I know him as other men do, yea, that he is ever occupied, and ever busy in following his plough. I know by St Peter, which saith of him, *Sicut leo rugiens circuit quærens quem devoret:* "He goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." I would have this text well viewed and examined, every word of it: "*Circuit*," he goeth about in every corner of his diocess; he goeth on visitation daily, he leaveth no place of his cure unvisited: he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not. "*Sicut leo*," as a lion, that is, strongly, boldly, and proudly; stately and fiercely with haughty looks, with his proud countenances, with his stately braggings. "*Rugiens*," roaring; for he letteth not slip any occasion to speak or to roar out when he seeth his time. *Quærens*, he goeth about seeking, and not sleeping, as our bishops do; but he seeketh diligently, he searcheth diligently all corners, where as he may have his prey. He roveth abroad in every place of his diocess; he standeth not still, he is never at rest, but ever in hand with his plough, that it may go forward. But there was never such a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching, which every day, and every hour, laboureth to sow cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of form, and out of estimation and room, the institution of the Lord's supper and Christ's cross? For there he lost his right; for Christ said, *Nunc judicium est mundi, princeps seculi hujus ejicietur foras. Et sicut exaltavit Moses serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis. Et cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.* "Now is the judgment of this world, and the prince of this world shall be cast out. And as Moses did

lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lift up. And when I shall be lift up from the earth, I will draw all things unto myself." For the devil was disappointed of his purpose: for he thought all to be his own; and when he had once brought Christ to the cross, he thought all cocksure. But there lost he all reigning: for Christ said, *Omnia traham ad meipsum:* "I will draw all things to myself." He meaneth, drawing of man's soul to salvation. And that he said he would do *per semetipsum*, by his own self; not by any other body's sacrifice. He meant by his own sacrifice on the cross, where he offered himself for the redemption of mankind; and not the sacrifice of the mass to be offered by another. For who can offer him but himself? He was both the offerer and the offering. And this is the prick, this is the mark at the which the devil shooteth, to evacuate the cross of Christ, and to mingle the institution of the Lord's supper; the which although he cannot bring to pass, yet he goeth about by his sleights and subtil means to frustrate the same; and these fifteen hundred years he hath been a doer, only purposing to evacuate Christ's death, and to make it of small efficacy and virtue. For whereas Christ, according as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, so would he himself be exalted, that thereby as many as trusted in him should have salvation; but the devil would none of that: they would have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory, by a sacrifice expiatory, or remissory.

Now if I should preach in the country, among the unlearned, I would tell what propitiatory, expiatory, and remissory is; but here is a learned auditory; yet for them that be unlearned I will expound it. Propitiatory, expiatory, remissory, or satisfactory, for they signify all one thing in effect, and is nothing else but a thing whereby to obtain remission of sins, and to have salvation. And this way the devil used to evacuate the death of Christ, that we might have affiance in other things, as in the sacrifice of the priest; whereas Christ would have us to trust in his only sacrifice. So he was, *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi;* "The Lamb that hath been slain from the beginning of the world;" and therefore he is called *juge sacrificium*, "a continual sacrifice;" and not for the continuance of the mass, as the blanchers have blanched it, and wrested it; and as I myself did once betake it. But Paul saith, *per semetipsum*

purgatio facta: "By himself," and by none other, Christ "made purgation" and satisfaction for the whole world.

Would Christ this word, "by himself," had been better weighed and looked upon, and *in sanctificationem*, to make them holy; for he is *juge sacrificium*, "a continual sacrifice," in effect, fruit and operation; that like as they, which seeing the serpent hang up in the desert, were put in remembrance of Christ's death, in whom as many as believed were saved; so all men that trusted in the death of Christ shall be saved, as well they that were before, as they that came after. For he was a continual sacrifice, as I said, in effect, fruit, operation, and virtue; as though he had from the beginning of the world, and continually should to the world's end, hang still on the cross; and he is as fresh hanging on the cross now, to them that believe and trust in him, as he was fifteen hundred years ago, when he was crucified.

Then let us trust upon his only death, and look for none other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same bloody sacrifice, the lively sacrifice; and not the dry sacrifice, but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, *consummatum est:* "It is perfectly finished: I have taken at my Father's hand the dispensation of redeeming mankind, I have wrought man's redemption, and have despatched the matter." Why then mingle ye him? Why do ye divide him? Why make you of him more sacrifices than one? Paul saith, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus:* "Christ our passover is offered;" so that the thing is done, and Christ hath done it, and he hath done it *semel*, once for all; and it was a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice. Why then, it is not the mass that availeth or profiteth for the quick and the dead.

Wo worth thee, O devil, wo worth thee, that hast prevailed so far and so long; that hast made England to worship false gods, forsaking Christ their Lord. Wo worth thee, devil, wo worth thee, devil, and all thy angels. If Christ by his death draweth all things to himself, and draweth all men to salvation, and to heavenly bliss, that trust in him; then the priests at the mass, at the popish mass, I say, what can they draw, when Christ draweth all, but lands and goods from the right heirs? The priests draw goods and riches, benefices and promotions to themselves; and such as believed in their sacrifices they draw to the devil. But Christ is he that draweth souls unto him by his bloody sacrifice. What have we to do then but *epulari*

in Domino, to eat in the Lord at his supper? What other service have we to do to him, and what other sacrifice have we to offer, but the mortification of our flesh? What other oblation have we to make, but of obedience, of good living, of good works, and of helping our neighbours? But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better: Christ hath done that thing so well, that it cannot be amended. It cannot be devised how to make that any better than he hath done it. But the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop yonder, his chaplain, hath laboured by all means that he might to frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of his passion. And they have devised for that purpose to make us believe in other vain things by his pardons: as to have remission of sins for praying on hallowed beads; for drinking of the bakehouse bowl; as a canon of Waltham Abbey once told me, that whensoever they put their loaves of bread into the oven, as many as drank of the pardon-bowl should have pardon for drinking of it. A mad thing, to give pardon to a bowl! Then to pope Alexander's holy water, to hallowed bells, palms, candles, ashes, and what not? And of these things, every one hath taken away some part of Christ's sanctification; every one hath robbed some part of Christ's passion and cross, and hath mingled Christ's death, and hath been made to be propitiatory and satisfactory, and to put away sin. Yea, and Alexander's holy water yet at this day remaineth in England, and is used for a remedy against spirits and to chase away devils; yea, and I would this had been the worst. I would this were the worst. But wo worth thee, O devil, that hast prevailed to evacuate Christ's cross, and to mingle the Lord's supper. These be the Italian bishop's devices, and the devil hath pricked at this mark to frustrate the cross of Christ: he shot at this mark long before Christ came, he shot at it four thousand years before Christ hanged on the cross, or suffered his passion.

For the brasen serpent was set up in the wilderness, to put men in remembrance of Christ's coming; that like as they which beheld the brasen serpent were healed of their bodily diseases, so they that looked spiritually upon Christ that was to come, in him should be saved spiritually from the devil. The serpent was set up in memory of Christ to come; but the devil found means to steal away the memory of Christ's coming, and brought the people to worship the

serpent itself, and to cense him, to honour him, and to offer to him, to worship him, and to make an idol of him. And this was done by the market-men that I told you of. And the clerk of the market did it for the lucre and advantage of his master, that thereby his honour might increase; for by Christ's death he could have but small worldly advantage. And so even now so hath he certain blanchers belonging to the market, to let and stop the light of the gospel, and to hinder the king's proceedings in setting forth the word and glory of God. And when the king's majesty, with the advice of his honourable council, goeth about to promote God's word, and to set an order in matters of religion, there shall not lack blanchers that will say, "As for images, whereas they have used to be censed, and to have candles offered unto them, none be so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself; but it is done to God and his honour before the image." And though they should abuse it, these blanchers will be ready to whisper the king in the ear, and to tell him, that this abuse is but a small matter; and that the same, with all other like abuses in the church, may be reformed easily. "It is but a little abuse," say they, "and it may be easily amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniences. The people will not bear sudden alterations; an insurrection may be made after sudden mutation, which may be to the great harm and loss of the realm. Therefore all things shall be well, but not out of hand, for fear of further business." These be the blanchers, that hitherto have stopped the word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same. There be so many put-offs, so many put-byes, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom: and I doubt not but there were blanchers in the old time to whisper in the ear of good king Hezekiah, for the maintenance of idolatry done to the brasen serpent, as well as there hath been now of late, and be now, that can blanch the abuse of images, and other like things. But good king Hezekiah would not be so blinded; he was like to Apollos, "fervent in spirit." He would give no ear to the blanchers; he was not moved with the worldly respects, with these prudent considerations, with these policies: he feared not insurrections of the people: he feared not lest his people would not bear the glory of God; but he, without any of these respects, or policies, or considerations, like a good king, for God's sake and for

conscience sake, by and by plucked down the brasen serpent, and destroyed it utterly, and beat it to powder. He out of hand did cast out all images, he destroyed all idolatry, and clearly did extirpate all superstition. He would not hear these blanchers and worldly-wise men, but without delay followeth God's cause, and destroyeth all idolatry out of hand. Thus did good king Hezekiah; for he was like Apollos, fervent in spirit, and diligent to promote God's glory.

And good hope there is, that it shall be likewise here in England; for the king's majesty is so brought up in knowledge, virtue, and godliness, that it is not to be mistrusted but that we shall have all things well, and that the glory of God shall be spread abroad throughout all parts of the realm, if the prelates will diligently apply their plough, and be preachers rather than lords. But our blanchers, which will be lords, and no labourers, when they are commanded to go and be resident upon their cures, and preach in their benefices, they would say, "What? I have set a deputy there; I have a deputy that looketh well to my flock, and the which shall discharge my duty." "A deputy," quoth he! I looked for that word all this while. And what a deputy must he be, trow ye? Even one like himself: he must be a canonist; that is to say, one that is brought up in the study of the pope's laws and decrees; one that will set forth papistry as well as himself will do; and one that will maintain all superstition and idolatry; and one that will nothing at all, or else very weakly, resist the devil's plough: yea, happy it is if he take no part with the devil; and where he should be an enemy to him, it is well if he take not the devil's part against Christ.

But in the mean time the prelates take their pleasures. They are lords, and no labourers: but the devil is diligent at his plough. He is no unpreaching prelate: he is no lordly loiterer from his cure, but a busy ploughman; so that among all the prelates, and among all the pack of them that have cure, the devil shall go for my money, for he still applieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil: to be diligent in doing of your office, learn of the devil: and if you will not learn of God, nor good men, for shame learn of the devil; *ad erubescentiam vestram dico*, "I speak it for your shame:" if you will not learn of God, nor good men, to be diligent in your office,

learn of the devil. Howbeit there is now very good hope that the king's majesty, being by the help of good governance of his most honourable counsellors trained and brought up in learning, and knowledge of God's word, will shortly provide a remedy, and set an order herein; which thing that it may so be, let us pray for him. Pray for him, good people; pray for him. Ye have great cause and need to pray for him.

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

The First Sermon preached before King Edward, March 8, 1549.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.— ROMANS XV. 4.

Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of scripture might have hope.

IN taking this part of scripture, most noble audience, I play as a truant, which, when he is at school, will choose a lesson wherein he is perfect, because he is loth to take pain in studying a new lesson, or else feareth stripes for his slothfulness. In like manner, I might seem, now in my old age, to some men to take this part of scripture, because I would wade easily away therewith, and drive my matter at my pleasure, and not to be bound unto a certain theme. But ye shall consider, that the foresaid words of Paul are not to be understanded of all scriptures, but only of those which are of God written in God's book; and all things which are therein "are written for our learning." The excellency of this word is so great, and of so high dignity, that there is no earthly thing to be compared unto it. The author thereof is great, that is, God himself, eternal, almighty, everlasting. The scripture, because of him, is also great, eternal, most mighty and holy. There is no king, emperor, magistrate, and ruler, of what state soever they be, but are bound to obey this God, and to give credence unto his holy word, in directing their steps ordinately according unto the same word. Yea, truly, they are not only bound to obey God's book, but also the minister of the same, "for the word's sake," so far as he speaketh "sitting in Moses' chair;" that is, if his doctrine be taken out of Moses' law. For in this world God hath two swords, the one is a temporal sword, the other a

spiritual. The temporal sword resteth in the hands of kings, magistrates, and rulers, under him; whereunto all subjects, as well the clergy as the laity, be subject, and punishable for any offence contrary to the same book. The spiritual sword is in the hands of the ministers and preachers; whereunto all kings, magistrates, and rulers, ought to be obedient; that is, to hear and follow, so long as the ministers sit in Christ's chair; that is, speaking out of Christ's book. The king correcteth transgressors with the temporal sword; yea, and the preacher also, if he be an offender. But the preacher cannot correct the king, if he be a transgressor of God's word, with the temporal sword; but he must correct and reprove him with the spiritual sword; fearing no man; setting God only before his eyes, under whom he is a minister, to supplant and root up all vice and mischief by God's word: whereunto all men ought to be obedient; as is mentioned in many places of scripture, and amongst many this is one, *Quæcunque jusserint vos servare, servate et facite:* "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." Therefore let the preacher teach, improve, amend, and instruct in righteousness, with the spiritual sword; fearing no man, though death should ensue. Thus Moses, fearing no man, with this sword did reprove king Pharao at God's commandment.

Micheas the prophet also did not spare to blame king Ahab for his wickedness, according to God's will, and to prophesy of his destruction, contrary unto many false prophets. These foresaid kings, being admonished by the ministers of God's word, because they would not follow their godly doctrine, and correct their lives, came unto utter destruction. Pharao giving no credit unto Moses, the prophet of God, but appliant unto the lusts of his own heart, what time he heard of the passage of God's people, having no fear or remembrance of God's work, he with his army did prosecute after, intending to destroy them; but he and his people were drowned in the Red Sea. King Achab also, because he would not hearken unto Micheas, was killed with an arrow. Likewise also the house of Jeroboam, with other many, came unto destruction, because he would not hear the ministers of God's word, and correct his life according unto his will and pleasure. Let the preacher therefore never fear to declare the message of God unto all men. And if the king will not hear them, then the preachers may admonish and charge them with their duties, and so leave them unto God,

and pray for them. But if the preachers digress out of Christ's chair, and shall speak their own phantasies, then instead of, *Quæcunque jusserint vos facere, facite et servate*, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do," change it into these words following, *Cavete vero vobis a pseudo-prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos*, &c., "Beware of false prophets, which come unto you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits." Yea, change *Quæcunque jusserint*, if their doctrine be evil, into *Cavete a fermento Pharisæorum*, &c., that is, "Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees."

In teaching evil doctrine all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wise to be hearkened unto: in speaking truth they are to be heard. All things written in God's book are most certain, true, and profitable for all men: for in it is contained meet matter for kings, princes, rulers, bishops, and for all states. Wherefore it behoveth every preacher somewhat to appoint and accommodate himself and his matter, agreeable unto the comfort and amendment of the audience unto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preach before a king, let his matter be concerning the office of a king; if before a bishop, then let him treat of bishoply duties and orders; and so forth in other matters, as time and audience shall require.

I have thought it good to entreat upon these words following, which are written in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, *Cum veneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi possederisque eam*, &c., that is, "When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and enjoyest it, and dwellest therein; if thou shalt say, I will set a king over me, like unto all the nations that are about me; then thou shalt make him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose. One of thy brethren must thou make king over thee, and mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren. But in any wise let him not hold too many horses, that he bring not the people again to Egypt through the multitude of horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth go no more again that way. Also he shall not have too many wives, lest his heart turn away: neither shall he gather him silver and gold too much."

As in divers other places of scripture is meet matter for

all estates, so in this foresaid place is described chiefly the doctrine fit for a king. But who is worthy to utter this doctrine before our most noble king? Not I, God knoweth, which am through age both weak in body and oblivious: unapt I am, not only because of painful study, but also for the short warning. Well, unto God I will make my moan, who never failed me. *Auxiliator in necessitatibus*, "God is my helper in all my necessities;" to him alone will I make my petition. To pray unto saints departed I am not taught: to desire like grace of God as they had, right godly it is; or to believe God to be no less merciful unto us, being faithful, than he was unto them, greatly comfortable it is. Therefore only unto God let us lift up our hearts, and say the Lord's prayer.

"*Cum veneris, &c.*—When thou art come unto the land which the Lord, &c. Thou shalt appoint him king, &c."

1. "One of the brethren must thou make king over thee; and must not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren.

2. "But in any wise let not such one prepare unto himself many horses, that he bring not, &c.

3. "Furthermore, let him not prepare unto himself many wives, lest his heart recede from God.

4. "Nor he shall not multiply unto himself too much gold and silver."

As the text doth rise, I will touch and go a little in every place, until I come unto—"too much." I will touch all the foresaid things, but not—"too much." The text is, "When thou shalt come into the land," &c. To have a king the Israelites did with much importunity call unto God, and God long before promised them a king; and they were fully certified thereof, that God had promised that thing. For unto Abraham he said, *Ego crescere te faciam vehementer, ponamque te in gentes, sed et reges ex te prodibunt:* that is, "I will multiply thee exceedingly, and will make nations of thee; yea, and kings shall spring out of thee." These words were spoken long before the children of Israel had any king. Notwithstanding, yet God prescribed unto them an order, how they should choose their king, and what manner of man he should be, where he saith, "When thou shalt come into the land," &c. As who should say, "O ye children of Israel, I know your nature right well, which is evil, and inclined

unto all evils. I know that thou wilt choose a king to reign over thee, and to appear glorious in the face of the world, after the manner of gentiles. But because ~~they~~ thou art stiff-necked, wild, and art given to walk without a bridle and line, therefore now I will prevent thy evil and beastly manners; I will hedge strongly thy way; I will make a durable law, which shall compel thee to walk ordinately, and in a plain way: that is, thou shalt not choose thee a king after thy will and phantasy, but after me thy Lord and God."

Thus God conditioned with the Jews, that their king should be such a one as he himself would choose them. This was not much unlike a bargain that I heard of late should be betwixt two friends for a horse: the owner promised the other should have the horse if he would; the other asked the price; he said twenty nobles. The other would give him but four pound. The owner said he should not have him then. The other claimed the horse, because he said he should have him if he would. Thus this bargain became a Westminster matter: the lawyers got twice the value of the horse; and when all came to all, two fools made an end of the matter. Howbeit the Israelites could not go to law with God for choosing their king; for would they, nil they, their king should be of his choosing, lest they should walk inordinately in a deceivable way, unto their utter loss and destruction: for, as they say commonly, *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane*; that is, "He that walketh plainly, walketh safely." As the Jews were stiff-necked, and were ever ready to walk inordinately, no less are we Englishmen given to untowardness, and inordinate walking after our own phantasies and brains. We will walk without the limits of God's word; we will choose a king at our own pleasure. But let us learn to frame our lives after the noble king David, which when he had many occasions given of king Saul to work evil for evil, yea, and having many times opportunity to perform mischief, and to slay king Saul; nevertheless yet fearing, would not follow his fleshly affections, and walk inordinately without the will of God's word, which he confessed always to be his direction, saying, *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis;* "Thy word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my steps." Thus having in mind to walk ordinately, he did always avoid to do evil. For when king Saul was in a cave without any man, David and his men sitting by the sides of the cave,

yea, and David's men moving him to kill Saul, David made answer and said unto them, *Servet me Dominus, ne rem istam contra dominum meum Messiam, &c.*, that is, "The Lord keep me from doing this thing unto my master, that is the Lord's anointed." At another time also, moved by Abishai to kill Saul sleeping, David said, *Ne interficias eum; quis enim impune manum suam inferret uncto Domino, &c.*, that is, "Destroy him not; for who can lay his hands on the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?" &c. I would God we would follow king David, and then we should walk ordinately, and yet do but that we are bound of duty to do: for God saith, *Quod ego præcipio, hoc tantum facito*, "That thing which I command, that only do." There is a great error risen now-a-days among many of us, which are vain and new-fangled men, climbing beyond the limits of our capacity and wit, in wrenching this text of scripture hereafter following after their own phantasy and brain: their error is upon this text, *Audi vocem populi in omnibus quæ dicunt tibi; non enim te reprobant, sed me reprobarunt ne regnem super eos:* that is, "Hear the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not cast thee away, but me." They wrench these words awry after their own phantasies, and make much doubt as touching a king and his godly name. They that so do walk inordinately, they walk not directly and plainly, but delight in balks and stubble way.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walk ordinately with God, and direct their steps with God. For both patriarchs, judges, and kings, had and have their authority of God, and therefore godly. But this ought to be considered which God saith, *Non præficere tibi potes hominem alienum;* that is, "Thou must not set a stranger over thee." It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege king and lord of our own nation; an Englishman; one of our own religion. God hath given him unto us, and [he] is a most precious treasure; and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be king over us. Let us no more now desire to be bye-walkers, but let us endeavour to walk ordinately and plainly after the word of God. Let us follow David: let us not seek the death of our most noble and rightful king, our own brother both by nativity and godly religion. Let us pray for his good state, that he live long among us.

Oh, what a plague were it, that a strange king, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should reign over us! Where now we be governed in the true religion, he should extirp and pluck away altogether; and then plant again all abomination and popery. God keep such a king from us! Well, the king's Grace hath sisters, my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue? God knoweth. But God grant, if they so do, whereby strange religion cometh in, that they never come unto coursing nor succeeding. Therefore, to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this realm at these days; all covetousness, wherein the magistrates and rich men of this realm are overwhelmed; all lechery, and other excessive vices, provoking God's wrath (were he not merciful) even to take from us our natural king and liege lord; yea, and to plague us with a strange king, for our unrepentant heart. Wherefore if, as ye say, ye love the king, amend your lives, and then ye shall be a mean that God shall lend him us long to reign over us. For undoubtedly sins provoke much God's wrath. Scripture saith, *Dabo tibi regem in furore meo*, that is, "I will give thee a king in my wrath." Now, we have a lawful king, a godly king: nevertheless, yet many evils do reign. Long time the ministers appointed have studied to amend and redress all evils; long time before this great labour hath been about this matter; great cracks hath been made, that all should be well: but when all came to all, for all their boasts, little or nothing was done; in whom these words of Horace may well be verified, saying, *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus*, "The mountains swell up, the poor mouse is brought out." Long before this time many hath taken in hand to bring many things unto pass, but finally their works came unto small effect and profit.

Now I hear say all things are ended after a godly manner, or else shortly shall be. Make haste, make haste; and let us learn to convert, to repent, and amend our lives. If we do not, I fear, I fear lest for our sins and unthankfulness an hypocrite shall reign over us. Long we have been servants and in bondage, serving the pope in Egypt. God hath given us a deliverer, a natural king: let us seek no stranger of another nation, no hypocrite which shall bring in again all papistry, hypocrisy, and idolatry; no diabolical minister,

which shall maintain all devilish works and evil exercises. But let us pray that God maintain and continue our most excellent king here present, true inheritor of this our realm, both by nativity, and also by the special gift and ordinance of God. He doth us rectify in the liberty of the gospel; in that therefore let us stand: *State ergo in libertate qua Christus nos liberavit;* "Stand ye in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." In Christ's liberty we shall stand, if we so live that we profit; if we cast away all evil, fraud, and deceit, with such other vices, contrary to God's word. And in so doing, we shall not only prolong and maintain our most noble king's days in prosperity, but also we shall prosper our own lives, to live not only prosperously, but also godly.

"In any wise, let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses," etc. In speaking these words, ye shall understand that I do not intend to speak against the strength, policy, and provision of a king; but against excess, and vain trust that kings have in themselves more than in the living God, the author of all goodness, and giver of all victory. Many horses are requisite for a king; but he may not exceed in them, nor triumph in them, more than is needful for the necessary affairs and defence of the realm. What meaneth it that God hath to do with the king's stable, but only he would be master of his horses? The scripture saith, *In altis habitat,* "He dwelleth on high." It followeth, *Humilia respicit,* "He looketh on low things;" yea, upon the king's stables, and upon all the offices in his house. God is the great Grandmaster[1] of the king's house, and will take account of every one that beareth rule therein, for the executing of their offices; whether they have justly and truly served the king in their offices, or no. Yea, God looketh upon the king himself, if he work well or not. Every king is subject unto God, and all other men are subjects unto the king. In a king God requireth faith, not excess of horses. Horses for a king be good and necessary, if they be well used; but horses are not to be preferred above poor men. I was once offended with the king's horses, and therefore took occasion to speak in the presence of the king's majesty that dead is, when abbeys stood. Abbeys were ordained for the comfort of the poor: wherefore I said, it was not decent that the king's horses should be kept in them, as many were at that

[1] The office now called Lord Chamberlain.

time; the living of poor men thereby minished and taken away. But afterward a certain nobleman said to me, What hast thou to do with the king's horses? I answered and said, I spake my conscience, as God's word directed me. He said, Horses be the maintenances and part of a king's honour, and also of his realm; wherefore in speaking against them, ye are against the king's honour. I answered, God teacheth what honour is decent for the king, and for all other men according unto their vocations. God appointeth every king a sufficient living for his state and degree, both by lands and other customs; and it is lawful for every king to enjoy the same goods and possessions. But to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the king. If you do move the king to do after that manner, then you speak against the honour of the king; for I full certify you, extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the king's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed,—they be those which speak against the honour of the king. God requireth in the king and all magistrates a good heart, to walk directly in his ways, and in all subjects an obedience due unto a king. Therefore I pray God both the king, and also we his people, may endeavour diligently to walk in his ways, to his great honour and our profit.

"Let him not prepare unto himself too many wives," &c. Although we read here that the kings amongst the Jews had liberty to take more wives than one, we may not therefore attempt to walk inordinately, and to think that we may take also many wives. For Christ hath forbidden this unto us Christians. And let us not impute sin unto the Jews, because they had many wives; for they had a dispensation so to do. Christ limiteth unto us one wife only; and it is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly and ordinately. For a woman is frail, and proclive unto all evils: a woman is a very weak vessel, and may soon deceive a man and bring him unto evil. Many examples we have in holy scripture. Adam had but one wife, called Eve, and how soon had she brought him to consent unto evil, and to come to destruction! How did wicked Jezebel pervert king Achab's heart from God and all godliness, and finally unto destruction! It is a very hard thing for a man to rule well one woman. Therefore let our king, what time his grace shall be so minded to take a wife,

choose him one which is of God; that is, which is of the household of faith. Yea, let all estates be no less circumspect in choosing her, taking great deliberation, and then they shall not need divorcements, and such mischiefs, to the evil example and slander of our realm. And that she be such one as the king can find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and chaste espousage; and then he shall be the more prone and ready to advance God's glory, and to punish and to extirp the great lechery used in this realm.

Therefore we ought to make a continual prayer unto God for to grant our king's grace such a mate as may knit his heart and hers, according to God's ordinance and law; and not to consider and cleave only to a politic matter or conjunction, for the enlarging of dominions, for surety and defence of countries, setting apart the institution and ordinance of God. We have now a pretty little shilling indeed, a very pretty one: I have but one, I think, in my purse; and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat: and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see: but therein is printed a fine sentence, that is, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ VEL SAPIENTIÆ; "The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life or wisdom." I would God this sentence were always printed in the heart of the king in choosing his wife, and in all his officers. For like as the fear of God is *fons sapientæ* or *vitæ*, so the forgetting of God is *fons stultitiæ*, the fountain of foolishness, or of death, although it be never so politic; for upon such politic matters death doth ensue and follow; all their divorcements and other like conditions, to the great displeasure of Almighty God: which evils, I fear me, are much used in these days, in the marriage of noblemen's children; for joining lands to lands, possessions to possessions, neither the virtuous education nor living being regarded; but in the infancy such marriages be made, to the displeasure of God, and breach of espousals.

Let the king therefore choose unto him a godly wife, whereby he shall the better live chaste; and in so living, all godliness shall increase, and righteousness be maintained. Notwithstanding, I know hereafter some will come and move your grace towards wantonness, and to the inclination of the flesh and vain affections. But I would your grace should bear in memory an history of a good king called Lewis, that travelled towards the Holy Land (which was a great matter in those days), and by the way sickened. And upon

this matter the physicians did consult with the bishops, who did conclude that it would be lawful for the king to commit sin, if thereby his sickness could be removed. This good king hearing their conclusion would not assent thereunto, but said he had rather be sick even unto death than he would break his espousals. Wo worth such counsellors! Bishops! Nay, rather buzzards.

Nevertheless, if the king should have consented to their conclusion, and accomplished the same, if he had not chanced well, they would have excused the matter: as I have heard of two that have consulted together, and according to the advice of his friend, the one of them wrought where the succession was not good; the other imputed a piece of reproach to him for his such counsel given. He excused the matter, saying, that he gave him none other counsel, but if it had been his cause he would have done likewise. So I think the bishops would have excused the matter, if the king should have reproved them for their counsel. I do not read that the king did rebuke them for their counsel; but if he had, I know what would have been their answer: they would have said, We give you no worse counsel than we would have followed ourselves, had we been in like case.

Well, sir, this king did well, and had the fear of God before his eyes. He would not walk in by-walks, where are many balks. Amongst many balkings is much stumbling; and by stumbling it chanceth many times to fall down to the ground. And therefore let us not take any by-walks, but let God's word direct us: let us not walk after, nor lean to our own judgments, and proceedings of our forefathers, nor seek not what they did, but what they should have done: of which thing the scripture admonisheth us, saying, *Ne inclinemus præceptis et traditionibus patrum, neque faciamus quod videtur rectum in oculis nostris;* "Let us not incline ourselves unto the precepts and traditions of our fathers; nor let us do that seemeth right in our eyes." But surely we will not exchange our fathers' doings and traditions with scripture; but chiefly lean unto them and to their prescription, and do that seemeth good in our own eyes. But surely that is going down the ladder: *scala cœli*, as it was made by the pope, came to be a mass; but that is a false ladder to bring men to heaven. The true ladder to bring a man to heaven is the knowledge and following of the scripture.

Let the king therefore choose a wife which feareth God;

let him not seek a proud wanton, and one full of rich treasures and worldly pomp.

"He shall not multiply unto himself too much gold and silver." Is there too much, think you, for a king? God doth allow much unto a king, and it is expedient that he should have much; for he hath great expenses, and many occasions to spend much for the defence and surety of his realm and subjects. And necessary it is that a king have a treasure always in a readiness for that, and such other affairs as be daily in his hands: the which treasure, if it be not sufficient, he may lawfully and with a safe conscience take taxes of his subjects. For it were not meet the treasure should be in the subjects' purses, when the money should be occupied, nor it were not best for themselves; for the lack thereof might cause both it, and all the rest that they have, should not long be theirs. And so, for a necessary and expedient occasion, it is warranted by God's word to take of the subjects. But if there be sufficient treasures, and the burdening of subjects be for a vain thing, so that he will require thus much or so much of his subjects, (which perchance are in great necessity and penury;) then this covetous intent, and the request thereof, is "too much," which God forbiddeth the king here in this place of scripture to have. But who shall see this "too much," or tell the king of this "too much"? Think you, any of the king's privy chamber? No, for fear of loss of favour. Shall any of his sworn chaplains? No: they be of the closet, and keep close such matters. But the king himself must see this "too much"; and that shall he do by no means with the corporal eyes. Wherefore he must have a pair of spectacles, which shall have two clear sights in them: that is, that one is faith; not a seasonable faith, which shall last but a while, but a faith which is continuing in God: the second clear sight is charity, which is fervent towards his christian brother. By them two must the king see ever when he hath too much. But few there be that use these spectacles: the more is their damnation. Not without cause Chrysostom with admiration saith, *Miror si aliquis rectorum potest salvari;* "I marvel if any ruler can be saved." Which words he speaketh not of an impossibility, but of a great difficulty; for that their charge is marvellous great, and that none about them dare shew them the truth of the thing, how it goeth.

Well, then, if God will not allow a king too much,

whether will he allow a subject too much? No, that he will not. Whether have any man here in England too much? I doubt most rich men have too much; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the physician: if the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without too much. And of the lawyer, the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him too much. At merchants' hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much. You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that here before went for twenty or forty pound by year, (which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour,) now is let for fifty or an hundred pound by year. Of this "too much" cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts: notwithstanding, too much, which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labour, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. These things with other are so unreasonably enhanced; and I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound.

I will tell you, my lords and masters, this is not for the king's honour. Yet some will say, Knowest thou what belongeth unto the king's honour better than we? I answer, that the true honour of a king is most perfectly mentioned and painted forth in the scriptures, of which if ye be ignorant, for lack of time that ye cannot read it; albeit that your counsel be never so politic, yet is it not for the king's honour. What his honour meaneth, ye cannot tell. It is the king's honour that his subjects be led in the true religion; that all his prelates and clergy be set about their work in preaching and studying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the king's honour that the commonwealth be advanced; that the dearth of these foresaid things be provided for, and the commodities of this realm so employed, as it may be to the setting of his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. And herein resteth the king's honour and his office. So doing, his account before God shall be allowed and rewarded. Furthermore, if the king's

honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, inclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king's honour. For where as have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog: so they hinder the king's honour most of all. My lords and masters, I say also, that all such proceedings which are against the king's honour, (as I have a part declared before, and as far as I can perceive,) do intend plainly to make the yeomanry slavery, and the clergy shavery. For such works are all singular, private wealth and commodity. We of the clergy had too much; but that is taken away, and now we have too little. But for mine own part I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the king, I have sufficient; and God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man any thing: but I know them that have too little. There lieth a great matter by these appropriations: great reformation is to be had in them. I know where is a great market-town, with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pound, and the vicar that serveth, being so great a cure, hath but twelve or fourteen marks by year; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the great gain goeth another way.

My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath field.[1] He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

[1] Where the Cornish rebels were defeated in 1497.

Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, you have that; and since the same, ye have enhanced the rent, and so have increased another too much: so now ye have double too much, which is too too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners and inclosers; many meetings and sessions; but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I will say unto you: from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school, (as indeed universities do wonderously decay already,) and that they be not able to marry their daughters to the avoiding of whoredom; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeoman's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no; read the chronicles: ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men. But verily they that should look to the redress of these things be the greatest against them. In this realm are a great many folks, and amongst many I know but one of tender zeal, who at the motion of his poor tenants hath let down his lands to the old rents for their relief. For God's love let not him be a phenix, let him not be alone, let him not be an hermit closed in a wall; some good man follow him, and do as he giveth example.

Surveyors there be, that greedily gorge up their covetous goods; hand-makers, I mean: honest men I touch not; but all such as survey, they make up their mouths, but the commons be utterly undone by them; whose bitter cry ascending up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth, the greedy pit of hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them. A redress God grant! For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I would despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the king's majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things so out of frame; giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have, is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful day of judgment, I mean, which shall

make an end of all these calamities and miseries. For, as the scriptures be, *Cum dixerint, Pax, pax,* "When they shall say, Peace, peace," *Omnia tuta,* "All things are sure;" then is the day at hand: a merry day, I say, for all such as do in this world study to serve and please God, and continue in his faith, fear, and love; and a dreadful horrible day for those that decline from God, walking in their own ways; to whom, as it is written in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, it is said, *Ite, maledicti, in ignem æternum,* "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting punishment, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." But unto the other he shall say, *Venite, benedicti,* "Come, ye blessed children of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world:" of the which God make us all partakers! *Amen.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

The Second Sermon of Master Hugh Latimer, which he preached before the King's Majesty, within his Grace's Palace at Westminster, the fifteenth day of March, 1549.

TO THE READER

Even as in times past all men which were honestly bent to the promoting of virtue and learning, found means that the works of worthy orators, of famous and renowned philosophers, should be, by the benefit of publishing, redeemed from the tyranny of oblivion to the great and high profit of countries, of commonwealths, of empires, and of assemblies of men: likewise ought we to fetch our precedent from those men, and suffer no worthy monument to perish whereby any good may grow, either to the more godly administration of political and civil affairs, or else to the better establishment of christian judgment. Numa Pompilius (who was inaugured and created king of the Romans next after Romulus) was far more careful and busier in grounding of idolatrous religion (as upon rites, ceremonies, sacrifices and superstitions) than we are in the promoting of christian religion, to the advancement of the glory due to the omnipotent Majesty of God himself, who hath revealed and uttered his word unto us by his prophets, and last of all by his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; whereby he hath confirmed our consciences in a more perfect certainty of the truth than ever they were before. This Numa instituted an archbishop for the preserving of the Commentaries containing the solemnities of their religion, with many other appendices united to the office of the high bishop. What do we? We have suppressed. We have wrestled with fire and sword, not only to deface the writings of such learned men as have painfully travailed to publish God's word, but also we have stirred every stone, and sought all devilish devices to detain the same word of God itself from his people. May not we, and not unworthily, be accounted far under the ethnicks, who wrought only by natural motion and anticipations, without breathing and inspiring of the Holy Ghost, if we would not,

I mean, not be equal to them, but be far more zealous in promoting good learning and religion than ever they were? They, when they had such noble and worthy clerks as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, in all diligence caused the fruits of these most rare and profound wits to be preserved for their posterity, that the eyes of all generations might enjoy the fruition and use of them; thinking that such wonderful virtues should not be buried in the same grave that their bodies were. After so manifold and dangerous shipwrecks of religion, as in our times we may well remember, whereas the ambitious and blind prelates (some of wily wilfulness, some of gross ignorance) ruleth the stern, and have evermore blemished the true knowledge of God's word, and did their endeavour to obscure the same with their politic and decent ceremonies, and trumpery of superstitions; how oft hath religion been tossed on the stormy surges and dangerous rocks of the Romish seas! How oft hath it been in such a desperate state, that the true ministers have been enforced, as you would say, to weigh anchor, the tackling of the ship being broken, and, destitute of all other help and succours, to give over the ruling of the ship to God himself; who is only able to save, when all the world by man's reason judgeth it past cure! Such, O Lord, is thy mercy and ineffable power! What christian heart, that favoureth the glory of God, did not even lament and bewail the state of religion, and thought verily the utter ruin of Christ's church to be at hand, seeing the late martyrdom of those that suffered? Yet didst thou, Lord, stir up thousands out of their ashes; and what was done of a popish policy to suppress and keep under the truth, that, of all other, did most set forth the same. Thou hast delivered Daniel out of the den of lions, and he hath set forth thy word abroad. But now, countrymen, whom God hath blessed by delivering you from the tyranny of the lions and her whelps, which went through the whole realm sucking the innocent blood, how unthankful are you to God, so greatly neglecting so special a benefit; falling into such a looseness of lascivious living, as the like hath never been heard of heretofore! Even as ye are grown to a perfection in knowledge, so are ye come to a perfection in all mischief. The heathen, which had no other guide but the law of nature graven in the tables of their heart, were never so poisoned with the contagion of most horrible heresies, as some of us Christians which are not ashamed to brag and boast of the Spirit. But

it is a fanatic spirit, a brain-sick spirit, a seditious and a malignant spirit. Christ breathe his Spirit upon you, that ye may read the scripture with all humbleness and reverence, to fetch from thence comfort for your wounded consciences, not to make that lively fountain of life to serve for the feeding of your idle brains, to dispute more subtilly thereby; or else, by misunderstanding of the same, to conceive pernicious anabaptistical opinions! Remember that the servant which knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. God is a good God, a merciful God, a father, which beareth much with our crooked nature and unchristian behaviour, and very slow to revenge this blasphemy, this maintenance of so many unscriptural opinions, these babblings and schismatic contentions, wherein a great pack of us delight, and repose our glory; although, as fondly as erroneously, to the great slander of the godly-learned, and also to the hinderance of the good success and free passage of the word of God. But as truly as God is God, if we repent not shortly, his plagues and vengeance are not far off; his indignation and wrath shall be poured from heaven upon our ungodliness. He is long coming, but when he comes he will pay home; and, as Lactantius saith, recompense his long-sufferance with more grievous punishments. The world and the devil hath so bewitched us, that we in our deeds, I fear me, too many of us, deny God to be God, whatsoever we pittle-pattle with our tongues. God's word must not be talked of only, for that is not enough, it must be expressed. Then must we as well live the word as talk the word; or else, if good life do not ensue and follow upon our reasoning, to the example of others, we might as well spend that time in reading of profane histories, of Cantorburye tales, or a fit of Robyn Hode. Let us join good life with our reading, and yet all will be too little. Remember that the world and all that is in it is mere vanity, and shall have an end. Thou, I say, that thus abuseth the gift of God's holy word, and the graciousness of the king's majesty, which hath licensed thee to read the same for the comfort of thine own soul, for the instruction of thy family, the education of thy children, and edifying of thy neighbour; thou that art so gorgeously apparelled, and feedeth thy corruptible carcase so daintily; thou that purchasest so fast, to the utter undoing of the poor, consider whereof thou camest, and whereunto thou shalt return. Where is then all thy pomp? Where is all thy ruff of thy

gloriousness become? What will thou say for thyself in that horrible day of judgment, where thou shalt stand naked before God, where the tables of thine own conscience shall be opened, and laid before thine eyes to accuse thee? Thou which raisest the rents so greedily, as though thou shouldst never have enough. Thy judgment is, through miserable mammon, so captivate and blind, that thou canst not tell when thou hast enough, or what is enough. Truly a little is too much for him that knoweth not how to use much well. Therefore learn first the use of money and riches, and some other honester means to attain them, that this thine insatiable covetousness and unlawful desiring of other men's goods may be reduced to some reasonable measure, and that it do not exceed the limits or compass of honesty, and the bonds of brotherly love; lest God, before whom thou shalt appear one day to render a strait account for the deeds done in the flesh, burden and charge thee with the unmerciful handling of thy tenant, but yet notwithstanding thy brother, whom with new incomes, fines, enhancing of rents, and such like unreasonable exactions, thou pillest, pollest, and miserably oppressest. When that terrible day shall once come, a little of God's mercy will be worth a mass or a whole heap of thy money. There thy wicked mammon, whom thou servest like a slave, can purchase thee no mercy. There thy money, so gleaned and gathered of thee and thine, to the impoverishment of many to make thee only rich, cannot prevail thee, nor yet redeem thy cause before that just and severe judge, which then and there will render to thee the selfsame measure which thou measurest to other men. What did we speak of prevailing, or redeeming of thy cause with money? Nay, then thy money and the rest of thy gold shall be a witness against thee, and shall eat thy flesh as the fire. How frantic and foolish might all wise men well judge and deem him to be, which against the day of his arraignment, when he should stand upon the trial of death and life, would busy himself, his folks, and his friends, to prepare and get many witnesses against him, to cast him away by their evidence and witness, and to provide such men as should be the only cause of his death! Even so frantic, so foolish art thou, which both toil, travail, and turmoil so earnestly and busily about the getting of goods and riches, before thou hast well learned and taken forth of the lesson of well using the same. Howbeit, truly I doubt much of the well using of that which was never well

nor truly gotten. Learn, therefore, first to know what is enough; for the wise man saith, "It is better to have a little with the fear of the Lord, than great and unsatiable riches." Sophony saith, "Their gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the Lord's wrath." "Let your conversation be without covetousness, and be content with what ye have already." "Godliness is great riches, if a man be content with such as God sends. For we brought nothing into this world, neither shall we carry anything out. When we have food and raiment, let us therewith be content." Behold, the schoolmaster Paul teaches thee here a good lesson. Here thou mayest learn well enough to know what is enough. But lest thou shouldest fear at any time the want or lack of this enough, hear farther the rest of the lesson; for God verily saith, "The Lord is mine helper, I will not fear what man doeth to me." If the revenues and yearly rents of thy patrimony and lands be not enough nor sufficient for thy finding, and will not suffice thy charges, then moderate thy expenses; borrow of thy two next neighbours, that is to say, of thy back and thy belly. Learn to eat within the tether. Pull down thy sail: say, "Down, proud heart." Maintain no greater port than thou art able to bear out and support of thine own provision. Put thy hand no farther than thy sleeve will reach. Cut thy cloth after thy measure. Keep thy house after thy spending. Thou must not pill and poll thy tenant, that thou mayest have, as they say, *Unde*, and that thy never enough, to ruffle it out in a riotous ruff, and a prodigal, dissolute, and licentious living. We read in the scriptures, "Give to every man his duty; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom honour pertaineth." But we find not there, nor elsewhere, "fines to whom fines, incomes to whom incomes." Paul was not acquainted with none of these terms. Belike they were not used and come up in his time, or else he would have made mention of them. Yet, notwithstanding, we deny not but these reasonably required, and upon honest covenants and contracts, are the more tolerable; and so used, so may be permitted. But the covenants and contracts we remit to the godly wisdom of the high magistrates, who we pray God may take such order and direction in this, and all other, that the common people may be relieved and eased of many importable charges and injuries, which many of them, contrary to all equity and right, sustain. But wo worth this covetousness, not without skill

called the root of all evil! If covetousness were not, we think many things amiss would shortly be redressed. She is a mighty matron, a lady of great power. She hath retained more servants than any lady hath in England. But mark how well, in fine, she hath rewarded her servants, and learn to be wise by another man's harm. Achan, by the commandment of God, was stoned to death, because he took of the excommunicate goods. Saul, moved by covetousness, disobeyed God's word, preserving the king Agag, and a parcel of the fattest of the cattle, and lost his kingdom thereby. Gehize was stricken with leprosy, and all his posterity, because he took money and raiment of Naaman. The rich and unmerciful glutton, who fared well and daintily every day, was buried in hell; and there he taketh now such fare as the devil himself doth. Woe be to you that join house to house, and field to field! Shall ye alone inhabit the earth? Let these terrible examples suffice at this present to teach and admonish the enhancer of rents; the unreasonable exactor, and greedy requirer of fines and incomes; the covetous leasemonger; the devourer of towns and countries, as M. Latimer termeth them rightly. If these scriptures, which they may read in these godly sermons, do not pierce their stony hearts, we fear more will not serve. The Lord be merciful to them! But now the wicked judge, which corrupteth justice for bribes, here he may learn also the lesson that Moses taught long before this time, "Ye magistrates and judges in the commonwealth of Israel, be no acceptors of persons, neither be desirous of gifts; for they make wise men blind, and change the mind of the righteous." "In judgment be merciful to the fatherless, as a father, and be instead of an husband unto their mother." "The ungodly taketh gifts out of the bosom to wrest the ways of judgment." "Let him that rules be diligent," saith Paul. What meaneth he by this term 'diligent'? He requires no such diligence as the most part of our lucrative lawyers do use, in deferring and prolonging of matters and actions from term to term, and in the tracting of time in the same; where, perchance, the title or right of the matter might have come to light, and been tried long before, if the lawyers and judges would have used such diligence as Paul would have them to do. But what care the lawyers for Paul? Paul was but a madman of law to controul them for their diligence. Paul, yea, and Peter too, had more skill in mending an old net, and in clouting an old tent, than to teach lawyers what diligence

they should use in the expedition of matters. Why, but be not lawyers diligent? say ye. Yea, truly are they; about their own profit there are no more diligent men, nor busier persons in all England. They trudge, in the term time, to and fro. They apply the world hard. They foreslow[1] no time. They follow assizes and sessions, leets, law-days, and hundreds. They should serve the king, but they serve themselves. And how they use, nay rather abuse their office in the same, some good man will tell them thereof. We lack a few more Latimers; a few more such preachers. Such plain Pasquyls we pray God provide for us, as will keep nothing back. Of the which sort and number we may most worthily reckon this faithful minister of God, and constant preacher of his word, Master Hugh Latimer; which, by his perseverance and stedfastness in the truth, hath stablished this wavering world. He hath been tost for the truth's sake, and tried in the storm of persecution, as gold in the furnace. He is one whom, as well for his learned, sound, and catholic judgment in the knowledge of God's word, as for his integrity and example of Christian conversation, all we, and especially ministers and prelates, ought to set before our eyes, as a principal patron to imitate and follow; desiring God, who hath stirred up in him the bold spirit of Helias, may daily more and more augment the same in him, and may also provide many such preaching prelates; which both so well could, and so willingly would, frankly utter the truth, to the extolling of virtue, to the reward of well-doers, the suppressing of vice, the abolishment of all papistry. It is our part, therefore, to pray diligently for his continual health, and that he may live long among us in a flourishing old age; and not, as some ingrate and inhuman persons, to malign and deprave him, for that he so frankly and liberally taxed, perstringed, and openly rebuked before the king's majesty the peculiar faults of certain of his auditors: but it is our part rather thankfully to accept in good part, take his godly advertisement; unless we be minded to prefer our mucky money, and false felicity, before the joys of heaven; or else believe, as the Epicures do, that after this life there is neither hell nor heaven. Receive thankfully, gentle reader, these sermons, faithfully collected without any sinister suspicion of any thing in the same being added or adempt.

The XXI *day of June.*

[1] loiter.

THE SERMON

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam, &c.—ROMANS xv. 4.

All things that are written in God's book, in the holy bible, they were written before our time, but yet to continue from age to age, as long as the world doth stand.

IN this book is contained doctrine for all estates, even for kings. A king herein may learn how to guide himself. I told you in my last sermon much of the duty of a king, and there is one place behind yet, and it followeth in the text: *Postquam autem sederit in solio regni sui*, &c.; "And when the king is set in the seat of his kingdom, he shall write him out a book, and take a copy of the priests or Levites." He shall have a book with him, and why? "To read in it all the days of his life, to learn to fear God, and learn his laws," and other things, as it followeth in the text with the appurtenances, and hangings on, "that he turn not from God, neither to the right hand, nor to the left." And wherefore shall he do this? "That he may live long, he and his children."

Hitherto goeth the text. That I may declare this the better, to the edifying of your souls and the glory of God, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

Et postquam, &c., "And when the king is set in the seat of his kingdom, &c."

Before I enter into this place, right honourable audience, to furnish it accordingly, which by the grace of God I shall do at leisure, I would repeat the place I was in last, and furnish it with an history or two, which I left out in my last sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdiness of the Jews, a froward and stiff-necked kind of people, much like our Englishmen now-a-days, that in the minority of a king take upon them to break laws, and to go by-ways. For when God had promised them a king, when it came to the point they refused him. These men walked by-walks; and the saying is, "Many by-walkers, many balks:" many balks, much stumbling; and where much stumbling is, there is sometimes a fall: howbeit there were some good walkers among them, that walked in the king's highway ordinarily, uprightly, plain Dunstable way[1]; and for this purpose I

[1] "As plain as Dunstable way" is given by Fuller among the proverbs of Bedfordshire, as descriptive of anything "plain and simple, without either welt or guard to adorn them."

would shew you an history which is written in the third of the Kings.

King David being in his childhood, an old man in his second childhood, (for all old men are twice children, as the proverb is, *Senex bis puer*, "an old man twice a child,)" it happened with him, as it doth oftentimes, when wicked men of a king's childhood take occasion of evil.

This king David being weak of nature, and impotent, insomuch that when he was covered with clothes, he could take no heat, was counselled of his servants to take a fair young maid to nourish him, and to keep him warm in his body: I suppose she was his wife. Howbeit he had no bodily company with her, and well she might be his wife. For though the scripture doth say, *Non cognovit eam*, "He knew her not," he had no carnal copulation with her, yet it saith not, *Non duxit eam uxorem*, "He married her not." And I cannot think that king David would have her to warm his bosom in bed, except she had been his wife; having a dispensation of God to have as many wives as he would: for God had dispensed with them to have many wives. Well, what happened to king David in his childhood by the child of the devil? Ye shall hear: king David had a proud son, whose name was Adonias, a man full of ambition, desirous of honour, always climbing, climbing. Now whilst the time was of his father's childhood, he would depose his father, not knowing of his father's mind, saying, *Ego regnabo*, "I will reign, I will be king." He was a stout-stomached child, a by-walker, of an ambitious mind: he would not consent to his father's friends, but got him a chariot, and men to run before it, and divers other adherents to help him forward; worldly-wise men, such as had been before of his father's counsel; great men in the world, and some, no doubt of it, came of good-will, thinking no harm; for they would not think that he did it without his father's will, having such great men to set him forth; for every man cannot have access at all times to the king, to know his pleasure. Well, algates[1] he would be king. He makes a great feast, and thereto he called Joab, the ring-leader of his father's army; a worldly-wise man; a by-walker, that would not walk the king's high-way; and one Abiathar, the high priest; for it is marvel if any mischief be in hand, if a priest be not at some end of it. They took him as king,

[1] by all means.

and cried, *Vivat rex Adonias;* "God save king Adonias." David suffered all this, and let him alone; for he was in his childhood, a bedrid man.

But see how God ordered the matter. Nathan the prophet, and Sadoc a priest, and Banaiah, and the Chrethites and Phelethites, the king's guard, they were not called to the feast. These were good men, and would not walk by-ways: therefore it was folly to break the matter to them; they were not called to counsel. Therefore Nathan, when he heard of this, he cometh to Bethsabe, Salomon's mother, and saith, "Hear ye not how Adonias the son of Ageth reigneth king, David not knowing?" And he bade her put the king in mind of his oath that he sware, that her son Salomon should be king after him. This was wise counsel, according to the proverb, *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane:* "He that walketh in the high plain way, walketh safely."

Upon this she went and brake the matter to David, and desired him to shew who should reign after him in Hierusalem; adding that if Adonias were king, she and her son, after his death, should be destroyed; saying, *Nos erimus peccatores*, "We shall be sinners, we shall be taken for traitors: for though we meant no harm, but walked uprightly, yet because we went not the by-way with him, he being in authority will destroy us." And by and by cometh in Nathan, and taketh her tale by the end, and sheweth him how Adonias was saluted king; and that he had bid to dinner the king's servants, all saving him, and Sadoc, and Benaiah, and all his brethren the king's sons, save Salomon.

King David remembering himself, swore, "As sure as God liveth, Salomon my son shall reign after me;" and by and by commanded Nathan and Sadoc, and his guard, the Cherites and Phelethites, to take Salomon his son, and set him upon his mule, and anoint him king. And so they did, crying, *Vivat Salomon Rex.* Thus was Salomon throned, by the advice and will of his father: and though he were a child, yet was his will to be obeyed and fulfilled, and they ought to have known his pleasure.

Whilst this was a doing, there was such a joy and outcry of the people for their new king, and blowing of trumpets, that Joab and the other company being in their jollity, and keeping good cheer, heard it, and suddenly asked, "What is this ado?" And when they perceived, that Salomon, by the advice of his father, was anointed king, by and by there

was all whisht: all their good cheer was done; and all that were with Adonias went away, and let him reign alone, if he would. And why? He walked a by-way, and God would not prosper it.

God will not work with private authority, nor with any thing done inordinately. When Adonias saw this, that he was left alone, he took sanctuary, and held by the horns of the altar; and sware that he would not depart thence till Salomon would swear that he should not lose his life.

Here is to be noted the notable sentence and great mercy of king Salomon. "Let him," saith he, "order himself like a quiet man, and there shall not one hair fall from his head: *Sed si inventum fuerit malum in eo*, But if there shall be any evil found in him, if he hath gone about any mischief, he shall die for it." Upon this he was brought unto Salomon; and as the book saith, he did homage unto him. And Salomon said unto him: *Vade in domum tuam*, "Get thee into thy house:" belike he meant to ward, and there to see his wearing: as if he should say, "Shew thyself without gall of ambition, to be a quiet subject, and I will pardon thee for this time: but I will see the wearing of thee." Here we may see the wonderful great mercy of Salomon: for this notorious treason that Adonias had committed, it was a plain matter, for he suffered himself to be called king; it hung not of vehement suspicion or conjecture, nor sequel, or consequent; yet notwithstanding Salomon for that present forgave him, saying, "I will not forget it utterly, but I will keep it in suspense, I will take no advantage of thee at this time." This Adonias and Absolon were brethren, and came both of a strange mother; and Absolon likewise was a traitor, and made an insurrection against his father. Beware therefore these mothers; and let kings take heed how they marry, in what houses, in what faith. For strange bringing up bringeth strange manners.

Now giveth David an exhortation to Salomon, and teacheth him the duty of a king; and giveth him a lesson, as it followeth at large in the book, and he that list to read it, may see it there at full. But what doth Adonias all this while? He must yet climb again: the gall of ambition was not out of his heart: he will now marry Abisaac, the young queen that warmed king David's bosom, as I told you; and cometh me to Bethsabe, desiring her to be a mean to Salomon

her son that he might obtain his purpose; and bringeth me out a couple of lies at a clap; and committeth me two unlawful acts. For first he would have been king without his father's consent, and now he will marry his father's wife. And the two lies are these: first, said he to Bethsabe, "Thou knowest that the kingdom belongeth unto me, for I am the elder; the kingdom was mine." He lied falsely; it was none of his. Then said he, "All the eyes of Israel were cast upon me:" that is to say, all Israel consented to it. And there he lied falsely; for Nathan, Sadoc and other wise men, never agreed to it. Here was a great enterprise of Adonias; he will be climbing still. Well; Bethsabe went at his request to her son Salomon, and asked a boon, and he granted her whatsoever she did ask. Notwithstanding he brake his promise afterward, and that right well; for all promises are not to be kept, specially if they be against the word of God, or not standing with a common profit. And therefore as soon as Salomon heard that Adonias would have married the young queen Abishaac: "Nay, then let him be king too," said he: "I perceive now that he is a naughty man, a proud-hearted fellow; the gall of ambition is not yet out of his heart:" and so commanded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonias put to execution, whereas if he had kept his house, and not broken his injunction, he might have lived still. Abiathar, what became of him? The king, because he had served his father before him, would not put him to death, but made him as it were a quondam. "Because thou hast been with my father," said he, "and didst carry the ark before him, I will not kill thee. But I will promise thee, thou shalt never minister any more; *vade in agrum tuum*, get thee to thy land, and live there." A great matter of pity and compassion! So God grant us all such mercy!

And here was the end of Elie's stock, according to the promise and threatening of God. As for the Phelethites, we do not read that they were punished. Marry, Shimei transgressed his injunction; for he kept not his house, but went out of Jerusalem to seek two servants of his, that had run from him; and when it came to Salomon's ear, it cost him his life.

I have ript the matter now to the pill, and have told you of plain-walkers, and of by-walkers; and how a king in his childhood is a king, as well as in any other age.

We read in scripture of such as were but twelve or eight years old, and yet the word of the Holy Ghost called them kings, saying: *Cœpit regnare*, "He began to reign" or he began to be king. Here is of by-walkers. This history would be remembered: the proverb is, *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum;* "Happy is he that can beware by another man's jeopardy." For if we offend not as other do, it is not our own deserts. If we fall not, it is God's preservation. We are all offenders: for either we may do, or have done, or shall do, (except God preserve us,) as evil as the worst of them. I pray God we may all amend and repent! But we will all amend now, I trust. We must needs amend our lives every man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receive it unworthily.

Well, to return to my history. King David, I say, was a king in his second childhood. And so young kings, though they be children, yet are they kings notwithstanding. And though it be written in scripture, *Væ tibi, O terra, ubi puer est rex*, "Wo to thee, O land, where the king is a child;" it followeth in another place, *Beata terra ubi rex nobilis*, "Blessed is the land where there is a noble king;" where kings be no banqueters, no players; and where they spend not their time in hawking and hunting. And when had the king's majesty a council, that took more pain both night and day for the setting forth of God's word, and profit of the commonwealth? And yet there be some wicked people that will say, "Tush, this gear will not tarry: it is but my lord Protector's and my lord of Canterbury's doing: the king is a child, and he knoweth not of it." Jesu mercy! How like are we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked, and walking in by-ways! Yea, I think no Jew would at any time say, "This gear will not tarry." I never heard nor read at any time that they said, "These laws were made in such a king's days, when he was but a child; let us alter them." O Lord, what pity is this, that we should be worse than the Jews!

"Blessed be the land," saith the word of God, "where the king is noble." What people are they that say, "The king is but a child?" Have we not a noble king? Was there ever king so noble; so godly; brought up with so noble counsellors; so excellent and well learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this, and I speak it even as I think: his Majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learn-

ing and knowledge at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life.

I told you in my last sermon of ministers, of the king's people; and had occasion to shew you how few noblemen were good preachers; and I left out an history then, which I will now tell you.

There was a bishop of Winchester in king Henry the Sixth's days, which king was but a child; and yet there were many good acts made in his childhood, and I do not read that they were broken. This bishop was a great man born, and did bear such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the lord Protector. Well, it chanced that the lord Protector and he fell out; and the bishop would bear nothing at all with him, but played me the *satrapa*, so that the regent of France was fain to be sent for from beyond the seas, to set them at one, and go between them: for the bishop was as able and ready to buckle with the lord Protector, as he was with him.

Was not this a good prelate? He should have been at home preaching in his diocese with a wanniaunt.[1]

This Protector was so noble and godly a man, that he was called of every man the good duke Humphrey. He kept such a house as never was kept since in England; without any enhancing of rents, I warrant you, or any such matter. And the bishop for standing so stiffly by the matter, and bearing up the order of our mother the holy church, was made a cardinal at Calais; and thither the bishop of Rome sent him a cardinal's hat. He should have had a Tyburn tippet, a half-penny halter, and all such proud prelates. These Romish hats never brought good into England.

Upon this the bishop goeth me to the queen Margaret, the king's wife, a proud woman, and a stout; and persuaded her, that if the duke were in such authority still, and lived, the people would honour him more than they did the king; and the king should not be set by: and so between them, I cannot tell how it came to pass, but at St Edmunds-bury, in a parliament, the good duke Humphrey was smothered.

But now to return to my text, and to make further rehearsal of the same, the matter beginneth thus: *Et postquam sederit rex*, "And when the king is set in the seat of his kingdom—" What shall he do? Shall he

[1] May be equivalent to, "with a vengeance."

dance and dally; banquet, hawk, and hunt? No, forsooth, sir. For as God set an order in the king's stable, as I told you in my last sermon, so will he appoint what pastime a king shall have. What must he do then? He must be a student, he must write God's book himself; not thinking, because he is a king, he hath licence to do what he will, as these worldly flatterers are wont to say: "Yea, trouble not yourself, sir, ye may hawk and hunt, and take your pleasure. As for the guiding of your kingdom and people, let us alone with it."

These flattering claw-backs are original roots of all mischief; and yet a king may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them the more lusty: and this is called pastime with good company. "He must write out a book himself." He speaketh of writing, because printing was not used at that time. And shall the king write it out himself? He meaneth, he shall see it written, and rather than he should be without it, write it himself. Jesus mercy! is God so chary with a king, to have him well brought up and instructed? Yea, forsooth: for if the king be well ordered, the realm is well ordered.

Where shall he have a copy of this book? Of the Levites. And why? Because it shall be a true copy, not falsified. Moses left the book in an old chest, and the Levites had it in keeping. And because there should be no error, no addition, nor taking away from it, he biddeth him fetch the copy of the Levites.

And was not here a great miracle of God, how this book was preserved? It had lain hid many years, and the Jews knew not of it. Therefore at length, when they had found it, and knew it, they lamented for their ignorance that had so long been without it, and rent their clothes, repenting their unfaithfulness. And the holy bible, God's book, that we have among us, it hath been preserved hitherto by wonderful miracle of God, though the keepers of it were never so malicious. First, ever since the bishop of Rome was first in authority, they have gone about to destroy it; but God worketh wonderfully; he hath preserved it, maugre their beards; and yet are we unthankful that we cannot consider it. I will tell you what a bishop of this realm said once to me: he sent for me, and marvelled

that I would not consent to such traditions as were then set out. And I answered him, that I would be ruled by God's book, and rather than I would dissent one jot from it, I would be torn with wild horses. And I chanced in our communication to name the Lord's Supper. "Tush," saith the bishop, "what do ye call the Lord's Supper? What new term is that?" There stood by him a dubber, one Doctor Dubber: he dubbed him by and by, and said that this term was seldom read in the doctors. And I made answer, that I would rather follow Paul in using his terms, than them, though they had all the doctors on their side. "Why," said the bishop, "cannot we, without scriptures, order the people? How did they before the scripture was first written and copied out?" But God knoweth, full ill, yet would they have ordered them; for seeing that having it, they have deceived us, in what case should we have been now without it? But thanks be to God, that by so wonderful a miracle he hath preserved the book still.

It followeth in the text: *Habebit secum*, "He shall have it with him:" in his progress, he must have a man to carry it, that when he is hawking and hunting, or in any pastime, he may always commune with them of it. He shall read in it, not once a year, for a time, or for his recreation when he is weary of hawking and hunting, but *cunctis diebus vitæ suæ*, "all the days of his life." Where are those worldlings now? these bladder-puffed-up wily men? Wo worth them that ever they were about any king! But how shall he read this book? As the Homilies are read. Some call them homelies, and indeed so they may be well called, for they are homely handled. For though the priest read them never so well, yet if the parish like them not, there is such talking and babbling in the church that nothing can be heard; and if the parish be good and the priest naught, he will so hack it and chop it, that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that shall be understood. And yet (the more pity) this is suffered of your Grace's bishops, in their dioceses, unpunished. But I will be a suiter to your grace, that ye will give your bishops charge ere they go home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flock, and to see your Majesty's Injunctions better kept, and send your Visitors in their tails: and if they be found negligent or faulty in their duties,

out with them. I require it in God's behalf, make them quondams, all the pack of them. But peradventure ye will say, "Where shall we have any to put in their rooms?" Indeed I were a presumptuous fellow, to move your Grace to put them out, if there were not other to put in their places. But your Majesty hath divers of your chaplains, well learned men, and of good knowledge: and yet ye have some that be bad enough, hangers-on of the court; I mean not those. But if your Majesty's chaplains, and my lord Protector's, be not able to furnish their places, there is in this realm (thanks be to God!) a great sight of laymen, well learned in the scriptures, and of virtuous and godly conversations, better learned than a great sight of us of the clergy. I can name a number of them that are able, and would be glad, I dare say, to minister the function, if they be called to it. I move it of conscience to your Grace, let them be called to it orderly; let them have institution, and give them the names of the clergy. I mean not the name only, but let them do the function of a bishop, and live of the same: not as it is in many places, that one should have the name, and eight other the profit. For what an enormity is this in a christian realm, to serve in a civility, having the profit of a provostship, and a deanery, and a parsonage! But I will tell you what is like to come of it; it will bring the clergy shortly into a very slavery.

I may not forget here my *scala cœli*, that I spake of in my last sermon. I will repeat it now again, desiring your Grace in God's behalf, that ye will remember it. The Bishop of Rome had a *scala cœli*, but his was a mass matter. This *scala cœli*, that I now speak of, is the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven. The top of the ladder, or first greese, is this: "Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." The second step: "How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed?" The third stair is this: "How shall they believe in him, of whom they never heard?" The fourth step: "How shall they hear without a preacher?" Now the nether end of the ladder is: "How shall they preach except they be sent?" This is the foot of the ladder, so that we may go backward now, and use the school argument; *a primo ad ultimum:* take away preaching, take away salvation. But I fear one thing; and it is, lest for a safety of a little money, you will put in chantry priests

to save their pensions. But I will tell you, Christ bought souls with his blood; and will ye sell them for gold or silver? I would not that ye should do with chantry priests, as ye did with the abbots, when abbeys were put down. For when their enormities were first read in the parliament-house, they were so great and abominable, that there was nothing but "down with them." But within a while after, the same abbots were made bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save and redeem their pensions. O Lord! think ye that God is a fool, and seeth it not? and if he see it, will he not punish it? And so now for safety of money, I would not that ye should put in chantry priests. I speak not now against such chantry priests as are able to preach; but those that are not able. I will not have them put in; for if ye do this, ye shall answer for it.

It is in the text, that a king ought to fear God: "he shall have the dread of God before his eyes." Work not by worldly policy; for worldly policy feareth not God. Take heed of these claw-backs, these venomous people that will come to you, that will follow you like Gnathos and Parasites: if you follow them, you are out of your book. If it be not according to God's word that they counsel you, do it not for any worldly policy; for then ye fear not God.

It followeth in the text: *Ut non elevetur cor ejus*, "That he be not proud above his brethren." A king must not be proud, for God might have made him a shepherd, when he made him a king, and done him no wrong. There be many examples of proud kings in scripture; as Pharao, that would not hear the message of God: Herod also, that put John Baptist to death, and would not hear him; he told him, that "it was not lawful for him to marry his brother's wife:" Jeroboam also was a proud king. Another king there was that worshipped strange gods, and idols of those men whom he had overcome before in battle; and when a prophet told him of it, what said he? "Who made you one of my council?" These were proud kings: their examples are not to be followed.

But wherefore shall a king "fear God, and turn neither to the right hand nor to the left?" Wherefore shall he do all this? *Ut longo tempore regnet ipse et filii ejus*, "That he may reign long time, he and his children." Remember this, I beseech your Grace; and when these flatterers and

flibbergibs another day shall come, and claw you by the back, and say, "Sir, trouble not yourself: what should you study? Why should you do this, or that?" your Grace may answer them thus and say: "What, sirrah? I perceive you are weary of us and our posterity. Doth not God say in such a place, that a king should write out a book of God's law, and read it, learn to fear God, and why? That he and his might reign long. I perceive now thou art a traitor." Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you, neither he, nor any after such a sort. And thus shall your Grace drive these flatterers and claw-backs away.

And I am afraid I have troubled you too long: therefore I will furnish the text with an history or two, and then I will leave you to God. Ye have heard how a king ought to pass the time. He must read the book of God; and it is not enough for him to read, but he must be acquainted with all scripture; he must study, and he must pray: and how shall he do both these? He may learn at Salomon. God spake unto Salomon when he was made a king, and bade him ask of him what he would, and he should have it. Make thy petition, said God, and thou shalt obtain. Now mark Salomon's prayer. *Domine, O Domine Deus*, said he, "O Lord God, it is thou that hast caused me to reign, and hast set me in my father's seat; for thou, God, only dost make kings." Thus should kings praise God and thank God, as Salomon did. But what was his petition? Lord, said he, *Da mihi cor docile*. He asked "a docible heart, a wise heart, and wisdom to go in and to go out:" that is, to begin all mine affairs well, and to bring them to good effect and purpose, that I may learn to guide and govern my people.

When he had made his petition, it pleased God well, that Salomon asked wisdom, and neither riches nor long life; and therefore God made him this answer: "Because thou hast chosen wisdom above all things, I will give it thee, and thou shalt be the wisest king that ever was before thee." And so he was, and the wisest in all kinds of knowledge that ever was since. And though he did not ask riches, yet God gave him both riches and honour, more than ever any of his ancestors had. So your Grace must learn how to do, of Salomon. Ye must take your petition; now study, now pray. They must be yoked together; and this is called pastime with good company.

Now when God had given Salomon wisdom, he sent him

by and by occasion to occupy his wit. For God gave never a gift, but he sent occasion, at one time or another, to shew it to God's glory. As, if he sent riches, he sendeth poor men to be helped with it. But now must men occupy their goods otherwise. They will not look on the poor; they must help their children, and purchase them more land than ever their grandfathers had before them. But I shall tell you what Christ said: "He that loveth his child better than me, is not worthy to be my disciple." I cannot see how ye shall stand before God at the latter day, when this sentence shall be laid against you.

But to return to my purpose: there were two poor women came before Salomon to complain. They were two harlots, and dwelled together in one house, and it chanced within two days they childed both. The one of these women by chance in the night had killed her child, and rose privily and went to the other woman, and took her live child away, and left her dead child in his place. Upon that they came both before Salomon to have the matter judged, whose the child was. And the one said, "It is my child:" "Nay," saith the other, "it is my child:" "Nay," saith the other, "it is mine." So there was yea and nay between them, and they held up the matter with scolding after a woman-like fashion. At the length Salomon repeated their tale as a good judge ought to do, and said to the one woman: "Thou sayest the child is thine." "Yea," said she. "And thou sayest it is thine," to the other. "Well, fetch me a sword," said he; for there was no way now to try which was the true mother, but by natural inclination. And so he said to one of his servants, "Fetch me a sword, and divide the child between them." When the mother of the child that accused the other heard him say so; "Nay, for God's sake," said she, "let her have the whole child, and kill it not." "Nay," quoth the other, "neither thine nor mine; but let it be divided." Then said Salomon, "Give this woman the child; this is the mother of the child." What came of this? *Audivit omnes Israel*, "When all Israel heard of this judgment, they feared the king." It is wisdom and godly knowledge that causeth a king to be feared.

One word note here for God's sake, and I will trouble you no longer. Would Salomon, being so noble a king, hear two poor women? They were poor; for, as the scripture saith, they were together alone in a house; they had not so much

as one servant between them both. Would king Salomon, I say, hear them in his own person? Yea, forsooth. And yet I hear of many matters before my lord Protector, and my lord Chancellor, that cannot be heard. I must desire my lord Protector's grace to hear me in this matter, that your Grace would hear poor men's suits yourself. Put them to none other to hear, let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that money is heard every where; if he be rich, he shall soon have an end of his matter. Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for any help they can obtain at any judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf, and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats, these upskips. Now a man can scarce know them from an ancient knight of the country. I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury; and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden, and have read awhile, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith: "Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you." When I come there, then is it some one or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard; and that he hath lain this long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing: but among all other, one specially moved me at this time to speak. This it is, sir. A gentlewoman came to me and told me, that a great man keepeth certain lands of hers from her, and will be her tenant in the spite of her teeth; and that in a whole twelvemonth she could not get but one day for the hearing of her matter; and the same day when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great sight of lawyers for his counsel, the gentlewoman had but one man of law; and the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do: so that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the great man have a quietness in her land.

I beseech your grace that ye will look to these matters. Hear them yourself. View your judges, and hear poor men's causes. And you, proud judges, hearken what God saith in his holy book: *Audite illos, ita parvum ut magnum.*

"Hear them," saith he, "the small as well as the great, the poor as well as the rich." Regard no person, fear no man: why? *Quia Domini judicium est*, "The judgment is God's." Mark this saying, thou proud judge. The devil will bring this sentence at the day of doom. Hell will be full of these judges, if they repent not and amend. They are worse than the wicked judge that Christ speaketh of, that neither feared God, nor the world. There was a certain widow that was a suitor to a judge, and she met him in every corner of the street, crying, "I pray you hear me, I beseech you hear me, I ask nothing but right." When the judge saw her so importunate, "Though I fear neither God," saith he, "nor the world, yet because of her importunateness, I will grant her request." But our judges are worse than this judge was; for they will neither hear men for God's sake, nor fear of the world, nor importunateness, nor any thing else. Yea, some of them will command them to ward, if they be importunate. I heard say, that when a suitor came to one of them, he said, "What fellow is it that giveth these folk counsel to be so importunate? He would be punished and committed to ward." Marry, sir, punish me then; it is even I that gave them counsel, I would gladly be punished in such a cause. And if ye amend not, I will cause them to cry out upon you still; even as long as I live: I will do it indeed. But I have troubled you long. As I began with this sentence: *Quæcunque scripta sunt*, &c., so will I end now with this text: *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud;* "Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it."

There was another suit, and I had almost forgotten it. There is a poor woman that lieth in the Fleet, and cannot come, by any means that she can make, to her answer, and would fain be bailed, offering to put in sureties worth a thousand pound; and yet she cannot be heard. Methink this is a reasonable cause; it is a great pity that such things should so be. I beseech God that he will grant, that all that is amiss may be amended, that we may hear his word and keep it, that we may come to the eternal bliss! To the which bliss I beseech God to bring both you and me. *Amen.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

The Third Sermon of M. Hugh Latimer, preached before King Edward, March twenty-second, 1549.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.—ROMANS xv. 4.

All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

ALL things that be written in God's holy book, the bible, are written to be our doctrine, long before our time, to serve from time to time, and so forth to the world's end.

Ye shall have in remembrance, most benign and gracious audience, that a preacher hath two offices, and the one to be used orderly after another. The first is, *Exhortari per sanam doctrinam*, "To teach true doctrine." He shall have also occasion oftentimes to use another; and that is, *Contradicentes convincere*, "To reprehend, to convince, to confute gainsayers, and spurners against the truth." "Why," you will say, "will any body gainsay true doctrine, and sound doctrine? Well, let a preacher be sure that his doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought that anybody will gainsay it." If St Paul had not foreseen that there should be gainsayers, he had not need to have appointed the confutation of gainsaying. Was there ever yet preacher but there were gainsayers that spurned, that winced, that whimpered against him, that blasphemed, that gainsayed it? When Moses came to Egypt with sound doctrine, he had Pharao to gainsay him. Jeremy was the minister of the true word of God; he had gainsayers, the priests and the false prophets. Elias had all Baal's priests, supported by Jesabel, to speak against him. John Baptist, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, had the Pharisees, the scribes, and the priests, gainsayers to them. The apostles had gainsayers also; for it was said to St Paul at Rome, *Notum est nobis quod ubique sectæ huic contradicitur:* "We know that every man doth gainsay this learning." After the apostles' time the truth was gainsayed

with tyrants, as Nero, Maxentius, Domitianus, and such like; and also by the doctrine of wicked heretics. In the popish mass-time there was no gainsaying; all things seemed to be in peace, in a concord, in a quiet agreement. So long as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popish mass, we were then without gainsaying. What was that? The same that Christ speaketh of, *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium*, &c., "When Satan, the devil, hath the guiding of the house, he keepeth all in peace that is in his possession." When Satan ruleth, and beareth dominion in open religion, as he did with us when we preached pardon-matters, purgatory-matters, and pilgrimage-matters, all was quiet. He is ware enough, he is wily, and circumspect for stirring up any sedition. When he keepeth his territory, all is in peace. If there were any man that preached in England in times past, in the Pope's times, as peradventure there was two or three, straightways he was taken and nipped in the head with the title of an heretic. When he hath the religion in possession, he stirreth up no sedition, I warrant you.

How many dissensions have we heard of in Turky? But a few, I warrant you. He busieth himself there with no dissension. For he hath there dominion in the open religion, and needeth not to trouble himself any further. The Jews, like runagates, wheresoever they dwell (for they be dispersed, and be tributaries in all countries where they inhabit), look whether ye hear of any heresies among them? But when *fortis supervenerit*, when one stronger than the devil cometh in place, which is our Savour Jesus Christ, and revealeth his word, then the devil roareth; then he bestirreth him; then he raiseth diversity of opinions to slander God's word. And if ever concord should have been in religion, when should it have been but when Christ was here? Ye find fault with preachers, and say, they cause sedition. We are noted to be rash, and undiscreet in our preaching. Yet as discreet as Christ was, there was diversity; yea, what he was himself. For when he asked what men called him, his apostles answered him, "Some say you are John Baptist, some say you are Elias, and some say you are one of the prophets;" and these were they that spake best of him. For some said he was a Samaritan, that he had a devil within him, a glosser, a drinker, a pot-companion. There was never prophet to be compared to him, and yet was there never more dissension than when he was, and preached

himself. If it were contraried then, will ye think it shall not be contraried now, when charity is so cold and iniquity so strong? Thus these backbiters and slanderers must be convinced. St Paul said, there shall be *intractabiles*, that will whimp and whine; there shall be also *vaniloqui*, vain-speakers. For the which St Paul appointeth the preacher to stop their mouths, and it is a preacher's office to be a mouth-stopper.

This day I must somewhat do in the second office: I must be a gainsayer, and I must stop their mouths, convince, refel and confute that they speak slanderously of me. There be some gainsayers; for there be some slanderous people, vain-speakers, and *intractabiles*, which I must needs speak against. But first I will make a short rehearsal to put you in memory of that that I spake in my last sermon. And that done, I will confute one that slandereth me. For one there is that I must needs answer unto; for he slandereth me for my preaching before the king's majesty. There be some to blame, that when the preacher is weary, yet they will have him speak all at once. Ye must tarry till ye hear more; ye must not be offended till ye hear the rest. Hear all and then judge all. What, ye are very hasty, very quick with your preachers! But before I enter further into this matter, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

First of all, as touching my first sermon, I will run it over cursorily, ripping a little the matter. I brought in a history of the bible, exciting my audience to beware of by-walkings, to walk ordinately, plainly, the king's highway, and agree to that which standeth with the order of a realm. I shewed you how we were under the blessing of God, for our king is *nobilis*. I shewed you we have a noble king, true inheritor to the crown without doubt. I shewed furthermore of his godly education. He hath such schoolmasters as cannot be gotten in all the realm again.

Wherefore we may be sure that God blessed this realm, although he cursed the realm whose ruler is a child, under whom the officers be climbing, and gleaning, stirring, scratching and scraping, and voluptuously set on banqueting, and for the maintenance of their voluptuousness go by-walks. And although he be young, he hath as good and as sage a council as ever was in England; which we may well know by their godly proceedings, and setting forth the word of God. Therefore let us not be worse than the stiff-necked Jews. In king Josias' time, who being young did alter,

change, and correct wonderfully the religion, it was never heard in Jewry, that the people repined or said, "The king is a child: this gear will not last long: it is but one or two men's doings: it will not tarry but for a time; the king knoweth it not." Wo worth that ever such men were born! Take heed lest for our rebellion God take his blessing away from us!

I entered into the place of the king's pastime: I told you how he must pass his time in reading the book of God, (for that is the king's pastime by God's appointment,) in the which book he shall learn to fear God. Oh how careful God is to set in an order all things that belong to a king, in his chamber, in his stable, in his treasure-house!

These peevish people in this realm have nothing but "the King, the King," in their mouths, when it maketh for their purpose. As there was a doctor that preached, "the king's Majesty hath his holy water, he creepeth to the cross:" and then they have nothing but "the King, the King," in their mouths. These be they, my good people, that must have their mouths stopped: but if a man tell them of the King's proceedings, now they have their shifts and their put-offs, saying, "We may not go before a law, we may break no order." These be the wicked preachers; their mouths must be stopped: these be the gainsayers.

Another thing there is that I told you of, *Ne elevetur cor regis*, &c., "The king must not be proud over his brethren." He must order his people with brotherly love and charity. Here I brought in examples of proud kings. It is a great pride in kings and magistrates when they will not hear, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of God. It is another kind of pride in kings when they think themselves so high, so lofty, that they disdain, and think it not for their honour, to hear poor men's causes themselves. They have claw-backs that say unto them, "What, Sir? What need you to trouble yourself? Take you your pleasure, hunt, hawk, dance, and dally: let us alone; we will govern and order the commonweal matters well enough." Wo worth them! they have been the root of all mischief and destruction in this realm.

A king ought not only for to read and study, but also to pray. Let him borrow example of Salomon, who pleased God highly with his petition, desiring no worldly things, but wisdom, which God did not only grant him, but because he asked wisdom, he gave him many more things; as riches, honour, and such like. Oh, how it pleased God that he

asked wisdom! And after he had given him this wisdom, he sent him also occasion to use the same by a couple of strumpets. Here I told an example of a meek king, who so continued, until he came into the company of strange women. He heard them not by means, or by any other, but in his own person; and I think verily the natural mother had never had her own child, if he had not heard the cause himself. They were *meretrices*, whores; although some excuse the matter, and say they were but tipplers, such as keep alehouses. But it is but folly to excuse them, seeing the Jews were such, and not unlike but they had their stews, and the maintenance of whoredom, as they had of other vices.

One thing I must here desire you to reform, my lords: you have put down the stews: but I pray you what is the matter amended? What availeth that? Ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. God should be honoured every where; for the scripture saith, *Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus.* "The earth and the land is the Lord's." What place should be, then, within a christian realm left for to dishonour God? I must needs shew you such news as I hear: for though I see it not myself, notwithstanding it cometh faster to me than I would wish. I do as St Paul doth to the Corinthians: *Auditur inter vos stuprum;* "There is such a whoredom among you as is not among the gentiles." So likewise *auditur*, I hear say that there is such a whoredom in England as never was seen the like. He charged all the Corinthians for one man's offence, saying they were all guilty for one man's sin, if they would not correct and redress it, but wink at it. Lo, here may you see how that one man's sin polluted all Corinth. "A little leaven, as St Paul saith, "corrupteth a great deal of dough." This is, *communicare alienis peccatis*, "to be partaker of other men's sins." I advertise you in God's name, look to it. I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was on the Bank. These be the news I have to tell you: I fear they be true. Ye ought to hear of it, and redress it. I hear of it, and, as St Paul saith, *aliqua ex parte credo.* There is more open whoredom, more stewed whoredom, than ever was before. For God's sake let it be looked upon; it is your office to see unto it. Now to my confutation.

There is a certain man that, shortly after my first sermon, being asked if he had been at the sermon that day,

answered, Yea. "I pray you," said he, "how liked you him?" "Marry," said he, "even as I liked him always: a seditious fellow." Oh Lord! he pinched me there indeed; nay, he had rather a full bite at me. Yet I comfort myself with that, that Christ himself was noted to be a stirrer up of the people against the emperor; and was contented to be called seditious. It becometh me to take it in good worth: I am not better than he was. In the king's days that dead is a many of us were called together before him to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth me down, and accuseth me of sedition, that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as if I should name him, ye would not think it. The king turned to me and said, "What say you to that, sir?" Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to mine accuser, and required him: "Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me to preach before a king? Would you have me for to preach nothing as concerning a king in the king's sermon? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?" Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to none of them all: he had nothing to say. Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to mine audience: I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace."

And I thank Almighty God, which hath always been my remedy, that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for, like a gracious lord, he turned into another communication. It is even as the scripture saith, *Cor regis in manu Domini*, "The Lord directed the king's heart." Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the tower the same night. Thus have I evermore been burdened with the word of sedition. I have offended God grievously, transgressing his law, and but for

this remedy and his mercy I would not look to be saved: as for sedition, for aught that I know, methinks I should not need Christ, if I might so say; but if I be clear in any thing, I am clear in this. So far as I know mine own heart, there is no man further from sedition than I; which I have declared in all my doings, and yet it hath been ever laid to me.

Another time, when I gave over mine office, I should have received a certain duty that they call a Pentecostal: it came to the sum of fifty and five pound: I set my commissary to gather it, but he could not be suffered, for it was said a sedition should rise upon it. Thus they burdened me ever with sedition. So this gentleman cometh up now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chanced in my last sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my auditory, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat. I was herein noted to speak seditiously. Yet I comfort myself in one thing, that I am not alone, and that I have a fellow; for it is *consolatio miserorum:* it is comfort of the wretched to have company.

When I was in trouble [1], it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular; that no man thought as I thought; that I loved a singularity in all that I did; and that I took a way contrary to the king and the whole parliament: and that I was travailed with them that had better wits than I, that I was contrary to them all. Marry, Sir, this was sore thunderbolts. I thought it an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow. I thought it was possible it might not be true that they told me. In the seventh of John, the priests sent out certain of the Jews, to bring Christ unto them violently. When they came into the temple and heard him preach, they were so moved with his preaching, that they returned home again, and said to them that sent them, *Nunquam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo:* "There was never man spake like this man." Then answered the Pharisees, *Num et vos seducti estis?* "What, ye brain-sick fools, ye hoddy-pecks [2], ye doddy-pouls [3], ye huddes [4], do ye believe him? are you seduced also? *Nunquis ex principibus credit in eum?* Did ye see any great man, or any great officer take his part? Do ye see anybody follow him

[1] Respecting the Statute of the Six Articles.
[2] hoddypake: a term of reproach synonymous with cuckold. Toone.
[3] doddy-polls, thickheads, dolts. [4] husks, refuse of the earth.

but beggarly fishers, and such as have nothing to take to? *Nunquis ex Pharisæis?* Do ye see any holy man, any perfect man, any learned man, take his part? *Turba quæ ignorat legem execrabilis est:* This lay people is accursed: it is they that know not the law that take his part, and none else."

Lo, here the Pharisees had nothing to choke the people withal but ignorance. They did as our bishops of England, who upbraided the people always with ignorance, where they were the cause of it themselves. There were, saith St John, *multi ex principibus qui crediderunt in eum*, "Many of the chief men believed in him;" and that was contrary to the Pharisees' saying. Oh then, belike they belied him, he was not alone. So thought I, there be more of mine opinion than I thought: I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition; and wot ye who is my fellow? Esay the prophet. I spake but of a little pretty shilling, but he speaketh to Jerusalem after another sort, and was so bold to meddle with their coin. "Thou proud, thou covetous, thou haughty city of Hierusalem:" *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam.* "Thy silver is turned into," what? into testions[1]? *Scoriam:* "into dross."

Ah, seditious wretch! what had he to do with the mint? Why should not he have left that matter to some master of policy to reprove? "Thy silver is dross; it is not fine, it is counterfeit; thy silver is turned; thou hadst good silver." What pertained that to Esay? Marry, he espied a piece of divinity in that policy; he threateneth them God's vengeance for it. He went to the root of the matter, which was covetousness. He espied two points in it, that either it came of covetousness, which became him to reprove; or else that it tended to the hurt of the poor people: for the naughtiness of the silver was the occasion of dearth of all things in the realm. He imputeth it to them as a great crime. He may be called a master of sedition indeed. Was not this a seditious varlet, to tell them this to their beards, to their face?

This seditious man goeth also forth, saying, *Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua*, "Thy wine is mingled with water." Here he meddleth with vintners: belike there were brewers

[1] Or testoon. A coin originally worth a shilling; afterwards "cried down" to ninepence; and finally to sixpence, which still retains the name of *tester*.

in those days, as there be now. It had been good for our missal-priests to have dwelled in that country; for they might have been sure to have their wine well mingled with water. I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindness and ignorance: when I should say mass, I have put in water twice or thrice for failing; insomuch when I have been at my memento, I have had a grudge in my conscience, fearing that I had not put in water enough. And that which is here spoken of wine, he meaneth it of all arts in the city, of all kinds of faculties; for they have all their medleys and minglings. That he speaketh of one thing, he meaneth generally of all. I must tell you more news yet.

I hear say there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you? were it no wonder to hear that cloth-makers should become poticaries? Yea, and (as I hear say) in such a place, where as they have professed the gospel and the word of God most earnestly of a long time? See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God. Thus the poor gospel goeth to wrack. If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set him on a rack, and stretch him out with ropes, and rack him till the sinews shrink again, while he hath brought him to eighteen yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thick him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the poticary; they call it flock-powder; they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider: truly a goodly invention! Oh that so goodly wits should be so ill applied! They may well deceive the people, but they cannot deceive God. They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too: now they have turned their flocks into powder, to play the false thieves with it. O wicked devil! what can he not invent to blaspheme God's word? These mixtures come of covetousness. They are plain theft. Wo worth that these flocks should so slander the word of God! As he said to the Jews, "Thy wine is mingled with water," so might he have said to us of this land, "Thy cloth is mingled with flock-powder." He goeth yet on.

This seditious man reproveth this honourable city, and saith, *Principes tui infideles;* "Thou land of Jerusalem, thy magistrates, thy judges are unfaithful:" they keep no touch, they will talk of many gay things, they will pretend

this and that, but they keep no promise. They be worse than unfaithful. He was not afraid to call the officers unfaithful, *et socii furum;* and "fellows of thieves:" for thieves and thieves' fellows be all of one sort. They were wont to say, "Ask my fellow if I be a thief." He calleth princes thieves. What! princes thieves? What a seditious harlot was this! Was he worthy to live in a commonwealth that would call princes on this wise, fellows of thieves? Had they a standing at Shooters-Hill, or Standgate-hole, to take a purse? Why? Did they stand by the high-way side? Did they rob, or break open any man's house or door? No, no; that is a gross kind of thieving. They were princes: they had a prince-like kind of thieving, *Omnes diligunt munera:* "they all love bribes." Bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be waged by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor, or to put off the poor man's causes. This is the noble theft of princes and of magistrates. They are bribe-takers. Now-a-days they call them gentle rewards: let them leave their colouring, and call them by their christian name, bribes: *Omnes diligunt munera.* "All the princes, all the judges, all the priests, all the rulers, are bribers." What? Were all the magistrates in Jerusalem all bribe-takers? None good? No doubt there were some good. This word *omnes* signifieth the most part; and so there be some good, I doubt not of it, in England. But yet we be far worse than those stiff-necked Jews. For we read of none of them that winced nor kicked against Esay's preaching, or said that he was a seditious fellow. It behoveth the magistrates to be in credit, and therefore it might seem that Esay was to blame to speak openly against the magistrates. It is very sure that they that be good will bear, and not spurn at the preachers: they that be faulty they must amend, and neither spurn, nor wince, nor whine. He that findeth himself touched or galled, he declareth himself not to be upright. Wo worth these gifts! they subvert justice every-where. *Sequuntur retributiones:* "they follow bribes." Somewhat was given to them before, and they must needs give somewhat again: for Giffe-gaffe was a good fellow; this Giffe-gaffe led them clean from justice. "They follow gifts."

A good fellow on a time bade another of his friends to a breakfast, and said, "If you will come, you shall be welcome;

but I tell you aforehand, you shall have but slender fare: one dish, and that is all." "What is that," said he? "A pudding, and nothing else." "Marry," said he, "you cannot please me better; of all meats, that is for mine own tooth; you may draw me round about the town with a pudding." These bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster than the fellow would follow the pudding.

I am content to bear the title of sedition with Esay: thanks be to God, I am not alone, I am in no singularity. This same man that laid sedition thus to my charge was asked another time, whether he were at the sermon at Paul's cross: he answered that he was there: and being asked what news there; "Marry," quoth he, "wonderful news; we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution." Ye may see by this, that he was such a one as rode on a mule, and that he was a gentleman. Indeed his mule was wiser than he; for I dare say the mule never slandered the preacher. O what an unhappy chance had this mule, to carry such an ass upon his back! I was there at the sermon myself: in the end of his sermon he gave a general absolution, and, as far as I remember, these or such other like words, but at the least I am sure this was his meaning; "As many as do acknowledge yourselves to be sinners, and confess the same, and stand not in defence of it, and heartily abhorreth it, and will believe in the death of Christ, and be comformable thereunto, *Ego absolvo vos*," quoth he. Now, saith this gentleman, his mule was absolved. The preacher absolved but such as were sorry and did repent. Belike then she did repent her stumbling; his mule was wiser than he a great deal. I speak not of worldly wisdom, for therein he is too wise; yea, he is so wise, that wise men marvel how he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath: but in wisdom which consisteth *in rebus Dei*, *in rebus salutis*, in godly matters, and appertaining to our salvation, in this wisdom he is as blind as a beetle: *tanquam equus et mulus*, *in quibus non est intellectus;* "like horses and mules, that have no understanding." If it were true that the mule repented her of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he. I pray God stop his mouth, or else to open it to speak better, and more to his glory!

Another man, quickened with a word I spake, as he said, opprobriously against the nobility, that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates, was

offended with me. I did not mean so but that some noblemen's children had set forth God's word, howbeit the poor men's sons have done it always for the most part. Johannes Alasco was here, a great learned man, and, as they say, a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way again: if it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. I would wish such men as he to be in the realm; for the realm should prosper in receiving of them: *Qui vos recipit me recipit*, "Who receiveth you, receiveth me," saith Christ; and it should be for the king's honour to receive them and keep them. I heard say Master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, to have two hundred pound a year: the king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr and Barnard Ochin, which have a hundred marks apiece: I would the king would bestow a thousand pound on that sort.

Now I will to my place again. In the latter end of my sermon, I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great; *Juste quod justum est judicare*, "You must not only do justice, but do it justly:" you must observe all circumstances: you must give justice, and minister just judgment in time; for the delaying of matters of the poor folk is as sinful before the face of God as wrong judgment.

I rehearsed here a parable of a wicked judge, which for importunity's sake heard the poor woman's cause, &c.

Here is a comfortable place for all you that cry out, and are oppressed: for you have not a wicked judge, but a merciful judge to call unto. I am not now so full of foolish pity, but I can consider well enough that some of you complain without a cause. They weep, they wail, they mourn, I am sure some not without a cause: I did not here reprove all judges, and find fault with all. I think we have some as painful magistrates as ever was in England; but I will not swear they be all so: and they that be not of the best, must be content to be taught, and not disdain to be reprehended. David saith, *Erudimini qui judicatis terram:* I refer it to your conscience, *vos qui judicatis terram*, "ye that be judges on the earth," whether ye have heard poor men's causes with expedition or no. If ye have not, then *erudimini*, be content to be touched, to be told. You widows, you orphans, you poor people, here is a comfortable place for you. Though these judges of the world will not hear you, there is

one will be content with your importunity; he will remedy you, if you come after a right sort unto him. Ye say, the judge doth blame you for your importunity, it is irksome unto him. He entered into this parable to teach you to be importune in your petition; *non defatigari*, "not to be weary." Here he teacheth you how to come to God in adversity, and by what means, which is by prayer. I do not speak of the merit of Christ; for he saith, *Ego sum via*, "I am the way:" *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam*, "Whoso believeth in me hath everlasting life." But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remedy adversity in anguish, in tribulations, in our necessities, in our injuries? The way is prayer. We are taught by the commandment of God, *Invoca me in die tribulationis, et ego eripiam te.* Thou widow, thou orphan, thou fatherless child, I speak to thee, that hast no friends to help thee: "call upon me in the day of thy tribulation, call upon me; *Ego eripiam te*, I will pluck thee away, I will deliver thee, I will take thee away, I will relieve thee, thou shalt have thy heart's desire."

Here is the promise, here is the comfort: *Glorificabis me*, "Thou shalt glorify me; thank me, accept me for the author of it, and thank not this creature or that for it." Here is the judge of all judges; come unto me, and he will hear you: for he saith, *Quicquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo*, &c., "Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name, shall be given you through my merits." "You miserable people, that are wronged in the world, ask of my Father in your distresses; but put me afore, look you come not with brags of your own merits, but come in my name, and by my merit." He hath not the property of this stout judge; he will bear your importunateness, he will not be angry at your crying and calling. The prophet saith, *Speraverunt in te patres nostri, et exaudivisti illos;* "Thou God, thou God, our fathers did cry unto thee, and thou heardest them. Art not thou our God as well as theirs?" There is nothing more pleasant to God than for to put him in remembrance of his goodness shewed unto our forefathers. It is a pleasant thing to tell God of the benefits that he hath done before our time. Go to Moses, who had the guiding of God's people; see how he used prayer as an instrument to be delivered out of adversity, when he had great rough mountains on every side of him, and before him the Red Sea; Pharao's host behind

him, peril of death round about him. What did he? despaired he? No. Whither went he? He repaired to God with his prayer, and said nothing: yet with a great ardency of spirit he pierced God's ear: "Now help, or never, good Lord; no help but in thy hand," quoth he. Though he never moved his lips, yet the scripture saith he cried out, and the Lord heard him, and said, *Quid clamas ad me?* "Why criest thou out so loud?" The people heard him say nothing, and yet God said, "Why criest thou out?" Straightways he struck the water with his rod, and divided it, and it stood up like two walls on either side, between the which God's people passed, and the persecutors were drowned. (Exod. xiv.)

Josue was in anguish and like distress at Jericho, that true captain, that faithful judge: no follower of retributions, no bribe-taker, he was no money-man: who made his petition to Almighty God to shew him the cause of his wrath toward him, when his army was plagued after the taking of Jericho. So he obtained his prayer, and learned that for one man's fault all the rest were punished. For Achan's covetousness many a thousand were in agony and fear of death, who hid his money, as he thought, from God. But God saw it well enough, and brought it to light. This Achan was a by-walker. Well: it came to pass, when Josua knew it, straightways he purged the army, and took away *malum de Israel*, that is, wickedness from the people. For Josua called him before the people, and said, *Da gloriam Deo*, "Give praise to God; tell truth, man:" and forthwith he told it: and then he and all his house suffered death. A goodly ensample for all magistrates to follow. Here was the execution of a true judge: he was no gift-taker, he was no winker, he was no by-walker. Also when the Assyrians with an innumerable power of men in Joshaphat's time overflowed the land of Israel, Joshaphat, that good king, goeth me straight to God, and made his prayer: *Non est in nostra fortitudine* (said he) *huic populo resistere;* "It is not in our strength, O Lord, to resist this people." And after his prayer God delivered him, and at the same time ten thousand were destroyed. So, ye miserable people, you must go to God in anguishes, and make your prayer to him.

Arm yourselves with prayer in your adversities. Many begin to pray, and suddenly cast away prayer; the devil putteth such phantasies in their heads, as though God would

not intend them, or had somewhat else to do. But you must be importune, and not weary, nor cast away prayer: nay, you must cast away sin; God will hear your prayer, albeit you be sinners. I send you to a judge that will be glad to hear you. You that are oppressed, I speak to you. Christ in this parable doth paint the good-will of God toward you, O miserable people! He that is not received, let him not despair, nor think that God hath forsaken him: for God tarrieth till he seeth a time, and better can do all things for us, than we ourselves can wish.

"There was a wicked judge," &c. What meaneth it that God borroweth this parable rather of a wicked judge, than of a good? Belike good judges were rare at that time: and trow ye the devil hath been asleep ever since? No, no: he is as busy as ever he was. The common manner of a wicked judge is, neither to fear God nor man. He considereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man, because of his pride. He looketh high over the poor; he will be had in admiration, in adoration. He seemeth to be in a protection. Well, shall he escape? No, no. *Est Deus in cœlo*, "There is a God in heaven:" he accepteth no persons, he will punish them. There was a poor woman came to this judge, and said, *Vindica me de adversario*, "See that mine adversary do me no wrong." He would not hear her, but drove her off. She had no money to wage either him, either them that were about him. Did this woman well to be avenged of her adversary? May christian people seek vengeance? The Lord saith, *Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam;* "When ye revenge, ye take mine office upon you." This is to be understood of private vengeance. It is lawful for God's flock to use means to put away wrongs; to resort to judges, to require to have sentence given of right. St Paul sent to Lysias the tribune, to have this ordinary remedy: and Christ also said, *Si male locutus sum*, &c., "If I have spoken evil, rebuke me." Christ here answered for himself. Note here, my lords and masters, what case poor widows and orphans be in. I will tell you, my lords judges, if ye consider this matter well, ye should be more afraid of the poor widow, than of a nobleman, with all the friends and power that he can make.

But now-a-days the judges be afraid to hear a poor man against the rich; insomuch they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man's suit, that he shall not be

able to go through with it. The greatest man in a realm cannot so hurt a judge as a poor widow; such a shrewd turn she can do him. And with what armour, I pray you? She can bring the judge's skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him. And how is that? *Lacrymæ miserorum descendunt ad maxillas*, "The tears of the poor fall down upon their cheeks," *et ascendunt ad cœlum*, "and go up to heaven," and cry for vengeance before God, the judge of widows, the father of widows and orphans. Poor people be oppressed even by laws. *Væ iis qui condunt leges iniquas!* "Wo worth to them that make evil laws against the poor! What shall be to them that hinder and mar good laws?" *Quid facietis in die ultionis?* "What will ye do in the day of great vengeance, when God shall visit you?" He saith, he will hear the tears of poor women when he goeth on visitation. For their sake he will hurt the judge, be he never so high. *Deus transfert regna.* He will for widows' sakes change realms, bring them into temptation, pluck the judges' skins over their heads.

Cambyses was a great emperor, such another as our master is: he had many lords-deputies, lords-presidents, and lieutenants under him. It is a great while ago since I read the history. It chanced he had under him in one of his dominions a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men; he followed gifts as fast as he that followed the pudding; a hand-maker in his office, to make his son a great man; as the old saying is, "Happy is the child whose father goeth to the devil." The cry of the poor widow came to the emperor's ear, and caused him to flay the judge quick, and laid his skin in his chair of judgment, that all judges that should give judgment afterward should sit in the same skin. Surely it was a goodly sign, a goodly monument, the sign of the judge's skin. I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England!

Ye will say, peradventure, that this is cruelly and uncharitably spoken. No, no; I do it charitably, for a love I bear my country. God saith, *Ego visitabo*, "I will visit." God hath two visitations: the first is, when he revealeth his word by preachers; and where the first is accepted, the second cometh not. The second visitation is vengeance. He went a visitation, when he brought the judge's skin over his ears. If his word be despised, he cometh with his second visitation, with vengeance.

Noe preached God's word a hundred years, and was laughed to scorn, and called an old doting fool. Because they would not accept this first visitation, God visited them the second time; he poured down showers of rain, till all the world was drowned. Loth was a visitor of Sodome and Gomorre; but because they regarded not his preaching, God visited them the second time, and burnt them all up with brimstone, saving Loth. Moses came first a visitation into Egypt with God's word, and because they would not hear him, God visited them again, and drowned them in the Red sea. God likewise with his first visitation visited the Israelites by his prophets; but because they would not hear his prophets, he visited them the second time, and dispersed them in Assyria and Babylon. John Baptist likewise, and our Saviour Christ, visited them afterward, declaring to them God's will; and because they despised these visitors, he destroyed Hierusalem by Titus and Vespasianus. Germany was visited twenty years with God's word, but they did not earnestly embrace it, and in life follow it, but made a mingle-mangle and a hotch-potch of it—I cannot tell what, partly popery, partly true religion, mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, 'Come to thy mingle-mangle, come pur, come pur:' even so they made mingle-mangle of it. They could clatter and prate of the gospel; but when all cometh to all, they joined popery so with it that they marred all together: they scratched and scraped all the livings of the church, and under a colour of religion turned it to their own proper gain and lucre. God, seeing that they would not come unto his word, now he visiteth them in the second time of his visitation, with his wrath: for the taking away of God's word is a manifest token of his wrath.

We have now a first visitation in England; let us beware of the second. We have the ministration of his word; we are yet well: but the house is not clean swept yet. God hath sent us a noble king in this his visitation; let us not provoke him against us. Let us beware; let us not displease him; let us not be unthankful and unkind; let us beware of by-walking and contemning of God's word; let us pray diligently for our king; let us receive with all obedience and prayer the word of God.

A word or two more, and I commit you to God. I will monish you of a thing. I hear say ye walk inordinately, ye

talk unseemly, otherwise than it becometh christian subjects: ye take upon you to judge the judgments of judges. I will not make the king a pope; for the pope will have all things that he doth taken for an article of our faith. I will not say but that the king and his council may err; the parliament houses, both the high and low, may err; I pray daily that they may not err. It becometh us, whatsoever they decree, to stand unto it, and receive it obediently, as far forth as it is not manifest wicked, and directly against the word of God. It pertaineth unto us to think the best, though we cannot render a cause for the doing of every thing; for *caritas omnia credit, omnia sperat*, "Charity doth believe and trust all things." We ought to expound to the best all things, although we cannot yield a reason.

Therefore I exhort you, good people, pronounce in good part all the facts and deeds of the magistrates and judges. Charity judgeth the best of all men, and specially of magistrates. St Paul saith, *Nolite judicare ante tempus donec Dominus advenerit*, "Judge not before the time of the Lord's coming." *Pravum cor hominis*, "Man's heart is unsearchable;" it is a ragged piece of work; no man knoweth his own heart; and therefore David prayeth, and saith, *Ab occultis meis menda me*, "Deliver me from my unknown faults:" I am a further offender than I can see. A man shall be blinded in love of himself, and cannot see so much in himself as in other men. Let us not therefore judge judges. We are accountable to God, and so be they: let them alone, they have their accounts to make. If we have charity in us, we shall do this; for *caritas operatur*, "Charity worketh." What worketh it? Marry, *omnia credere, omnia sperare*, "to accept all things in good part." *Nolite judicare ante tempus*, "Judge not before the Lord's coming." In this we learn to know antichrist, which doth elevate himself in the church, and judgeth at his pleasure before the time. His canonizations, and judging of men before the Lord's judgment, be a manifest token of antichrist. How can he know saints? He knoweth not his own heart. And he cannot know them by miracles, for some miracle-workers shall go to the devil.

I will tell you what I remembered yesternight in my bed; a marvellous tale to perceive how inscrutable a man's heart is. I was once at Oxford, (for I had occasion to come that way, when I was in my office;) they told me it was a gainer way, and a fairer way; and by that occasion I lay

there a night. Being there, I heard of an execution that was done upon one that suffered for treason: it was, as ye know, a dangerous world, for it might soon cost a man his life for a word speaking. I cannot tell what the matter was, but the judge set it so out that the man was condemned: the twelve men came in and said, "Guilty;" and upon that he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. When the rope was about his neck, no man could persuade him that he was in any fault; and stood there a great while in the protestation of his innocency; they hanged him, and cut him down somewhat too soon, afore he was clean dead; then they drew him to the fire, and he revived; and then he coming to his remembrance, confessed his fault, and said he was guilty. Oh, a wonderful example! It may well be said, *Pravum cor hominis et inscrutabile*, "A crabbed piece of work, and unsearchable."

I will leave here, for I think you know what I mean well enough. I shall not need to apply this example any further. As I began ever with this saying, *Quæcunque scripta sunt*, like a truant, so I have a common-place to the end, if my memory fail not, *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud*, "Blessed be they that hear the word of God, and keep it." It must be kept in memory, in living, and in our conversation: and if we so do, we shall come to the blessedness which God prepared for us through his son Jesus Christ; to the which may he bring us all. *Amen.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

The Fourth Sermon preached before King Edward, March 29th, 1549.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam, &c.—ROMANS xv. 4.
All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

THE parable that I took to begin with, most honourable audience, is written in the eighteenth chapter of St Luke; and there is a certain remnant of it behind yet. The parable is this: "There was a certain judge in a city that feared neither God nor man. And in the same city there was a widow that required justice at his hands; but he would not hear her, but put her off, and delayed the matter. In process, the judge, seeing her importunity, said, 'Though I fear neither God nor man, yet for the importunity of the woman I will hear her; lest she rail upon me, and molest me with exclamations and outcries, I will hear her matter, I will make an end of it.'" Our Saviour Christ added more unto this, and said, *Audite, quid judex dicat,* &c. "Hear you," said Christ, "what the wicked judge said. And shall not God revenge his elect, that cry upon him day and night? Although he tarry, and defer them, I say unto you, he will revenge them, and that shortly. But when the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith in the earth?"

That I may have grace so to open the remnant of this parable, that it may be to the glory of God, and edifying of your souls, I shall desire you to pray, in the which prayer, &c.

I shewed you the last day, most honourable audience, the cause why our Saviour Christ rather used the example of a wicked judge, than of a good. And the cause was, for that in those days there was great plenty of wicked judges, so that he might borrow an example among them well

enough; for there was much scarcity of good judges. I did excuse the widow also for coming to the judge against her adversary, because she did it not of malice, she did it not for appetite of vengeance. And I told you that it was good and lawful for honest, virtuous folk, for God's people, to use the laws of the realm as an ordinary help against their adversaries, and ought to take them as God's holy ordinances, for the remedies of their injuries and wrongs, when they are distressed; so that they do it charitably, lovingly, not of malice, not vengeably, not covetously.

I should have told you here of a certain sect of heretics that speak against this order and doctrine; they will have no magistrates nor judges on the earth. Here I have to tell you what I heard of late, by the relation of a credible person and a worshipful man, of a town in this realm of England, that hath above five hundred heretics of this erroneous opinion in it, as he said. Oh, so busy the devil is now to hinder the word coming out, and to slander the gospel! A sure argument, and an evident demonstration, that the light of God's word is abroad, and that this is a true doctrine that we are taught now; else he would not roar and stir about as he doth. When that he hath the upper hand, he will keep his possession quietly, as he did in the popish days, when he bare a rule of supremacy in peaceable possession. If he reigned now in open religion, in open doctrine, as he did then, he would not stir up erroneous opinions; he would have kept us without contention, without dissension. There is no such diversity of opinion among the Turks, nor among the Jews. And why? For there he reigneth peaceably in the whole religion. Christ saith, *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium*, &c. "When the strong armed man keepeth his house, those things that he hath in possession are in a quietness, he doth enjoy them peaceably:" *sed cum fortior eo supervenerit*, "But when a stronger than he cometh upon him," when the light of God's word is once revealed, then he is busy; then he roars; then he fisks abroad, and stirreth up erroneous opinions to slander God's word. And this is an argument that we have the true doctrine. I beseech God continue us and keep us in it! The devil declareth the same, and therefore he roars thus, and goeth about to stir up these wanton heads and busy brains.

And will you know where this town is? I will not tell you directly; I will put you to muse a little; I will utter

he matter by circumlocution. Where is it? Where the bishop of the diocese is an unpreaching prelate. Who is that? If there be but one such in all England, it is easy to guess: and if there were no more but one, yet it were too many by one; and if there be more, they have the more to answer for, that they suffer in this realm an unpreaching prelate unreformed. I remember well what St Paul saith to a bishop, and though he spake it to Timothy, being a bishop, yet I may say it now to the magistrates; for all is one case, all is one matter: *Non communicabis peccatis alienis*, "Thou shalt not be partaker of other men's faults." Lay not thy hands rashly upon any; be not hasty in making of curates, in receiving men to have cure of souls that are not worthy of the office, that either cannot or will not do their duty. Do it not. Why? *Quia communicabis peccatis alienis:* "Thou shalt not be partaker of other men's sins." Now methink it needs not to be partaker of other men's sins; we shall find enough of our own. And what is *communicare peccatis alienis*, "to be partaker of other men's evils," if this be not, to make unpreaching prelates, and to suffer them to continue still in their unpreaching prelacy? If the king and his council should suffer evil judges of this realm to take bribes, to defeat justice, and suffer the great to overgo the poor, and should look through his fingers, and wink at it, should not the king be partaker of their naughtiness? And why? Is he not supreme head of the church? What, is the supremacy a dignity, and nothing else? Is it not accountable? I think it will be a chargeable dignity when account shall be asked of it.

Oh, what advantage hath the devil! What entry hath the wolf when the shepherd tendeth not his flock, and leads them not to good pasture! St Paul doth say, *Qui bene præsunt presbyteri duplici honore digni sunt.* What is this *præesse?* It is as much to say, as to take charge and cure of souls. We say, *Ille præest*, he is set over the flock. He hath taken charge upon him. And what is *bene præesse?* To discharge the cure well; to rule well; to feed the flock with pure food and good example of life. Well then; *Qui bene præsunt duplici honore digni sunt*, "They that discharge their cure well are worthy double honour." What is this double honour? The first is, to be reverenced, to be had in estimation and reputation with the people, and to be regarded as good pastors: another honour is, to have all things neces-

sary for their state ministered unto them. This is the double honour that they ought to have, *qui præsunt bene*, that discharge the cure, if they do it *bene*.

There was a merry monk in Cambridge in the college that I was in, and it chanced a great company of us to be together intending to make good cheer, and to be merry; as scholars will be merry when they are disposed. One of the company brought out this sentence: *Nil melius quam lætari, et facere bene;* "There is nothing better than to be merry, and to do well." "A vengeance of that *bene*," quoth the monk; "I would that *bene* had been banished beyond the sea: and that *bene* were out, it were well; for I could be merry, and I could do, but I love not to do well: that *bene* mars all together. I would *bene* were out," quoth the merry monk; "for it importeth many things, to live well, to discharge the cure." Indeed it were better for them if it were out, and it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is. It will be a heavy *bene* to some of them, when they shall come to their account. But peradventure you will say, "What, and they preach not all, yet *præsunt:* are they not worthy double honour? Is it not an honourable order they be in?" Nay, an horrible misorder; it is an horror rather than an honour, and horrible rather than honourable, if the preacher be naught, and do not his duty. And thus go these prelates about to wrestle for honour, that the devil may take his pleasure in slandering the realm, and that it may be reported abroad that we breed heresies among ourselves. It is to be thought that some of them would have it so, to bring in popery again. This I fear me is their intent, and it shall be blown abroad to our holy Father of Rome's ears, and he shall send forth his thunderbolts upon these bruits: and all this doth come to pass through their unpreaching prelacy.

Are they not worthy double honour? Nay, rather double dishonour, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed among the people, and to have no living at their hands. For as good preachers be worthy double honour, so unpreaching prelates be worthy double dishonour. They must be at their doublets. But now these two dishonours, what be they? Our Saviour Christ doth shew: *Si sal infatuatus fuerit, ad nihil ultra valet nisi ut projiciatur foras;* "If the salt be unsavoury, it is good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden of men." By this salt is understood preachers, and such as have cure of souls? What be they worthy then? Wherefore serve

they? For nothing else but to be cast out. Make them quondams. Out with them; cast them out of their office: what should they do with cures, that will not look them it? Another dishonour is this, *Ut conculcentur ab hominibus*, "To be trodden under men's feet;" not to be regarded, not to be esteemed. They be at their doublets still. St Paul in his epistle qualifieth a bishop, and saith that he must be *aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum, apte*, "to teach, and to confute all manner of false doctrine." But what shall a man do with aptness, if he do not use it? It were as good for us to be without it.

A bishop came to me the last day, and was angry with me for a certain sermon that I made in this place. His chaplain had complained against me, because I had spoken against unpreaching prelates. "Nay," quoth the bishop, "he made so indifferent a sermon the first day, that I thought he would mar all the second day: he will have every man a quondam, as he is." As for my quondamship, I thank God that he gave me the grace to come by it by so honest a means as I did; I thank him for mine own quondamship: and as for them, I would not have them made quondams, if they discharge their office; I would have them do their duty, I would have no more quondams, as God help me. I owe them no more malice than this, and that is none at all.

This bishop answered his chaplain: "Well," says he, "well, I did wisely to-day; for as I was going to his sermon, I remembered me that I had neither said mass nor matins, and homeward I gat as fast as I could; and I thank God I have said both, and let his unfruitful sermon alone." "Unfruitful," saith one; another saith, "seditious." Well, unfruitful is the best: and whether it be unfruitful or no, I cannot tell; it lieth not in me to make it fruitful: and God work not in your hearts, my preaching can do you but little good. I am God's instrument but for a time; it is he that must give the increase: and yet preaching is necessary; for take away preaching, and take away salvation. I told you of *Scala cœli*, and I made it a preaching matter, not a massing matter. Christ is the preacher of all preachers, the pattern and the exemplar that all preachers ought to follow. For it was he by whom the Father of heaven said, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite*, "This is my well-beloved Son, hear him." Even he, when he was here on the earth, as wisely, as learnedly, as circumspectly as he preached, yet his seed

fell in three parts, so that the fourth part only was fruitful. And if he had no better luck that was preacher of all preachers, what shall we look for? Yet was there no lack in him, but in the ground: and so now there is no fault in preaching; the lack is in the people, that have stony hearts and thorny hearts. I beseech God to amend them! And as for these folk that speak against me, I never look to have their good word as long as I live; yet will I speak of their wickedness, as long as I shall be permitted to speak. As long as I live, I will be an enemy to it. No preachers can pass it over with silence: it is the original root of all mischief. As for me, I owe them no other ill will, but I pray God amend them, when it pleaseth him!

Now to the parable. What did the wicked judge in the end of the tale? The love of God moved him not. The law of God was this, and it is writ in the first of Deuteronomy, *Audite eos*, "Hear them." These two words will be heavy words to wicked judges another day. But some of them peradventure will say, I will hear such as will give bribes, and those that will do me good turns. Nay, ye be hedged out of that liberty. He saith, *Ita parvum ut magnum*, "The small as well as great." Ye must do *justum*, deal justly, minister justice, and that to all men; and you must do it *juste*, in time convenient, without any delays or driving off, with expedition. Well, I say, neither this law, nor the word and commandment of God moved this wicked judge, nor the misery of this widow, nor the uprightness of her cause, nor the wrong which she took, moved him; but, to avoid importunity, and clamour, and exclamation, he gave her the hearing, he gave her final sentence, and so she had her request.

This place of judgment, it hath been ever unperfect: it was never seen that all judges did their duty, that they would hear the small as well as the great. I will not prove this by the witness of any private magistrate, but by the wisest king's saying that ever was: *Vidi sub sole*, saith Salomon, *in loco justitiæ impietatem, et in loco æquitatis iniquitatem;* "I have seen under the sun," that is to say, over all in every place, where right judgment should have been, "wickedness;" as who would say, bribes-taking, defeating of justice, oppressing of the poor; men sent away with weeping tears without any hearing of their causes: and "in the place of equity," saith he, "I have seen iniquity."

No equity, no justice; a sore word for Salomon to pronounce universally, generally. And if Salomon said it, there is a matter in it. I ween he said it not only for his own time, but he saw it both in those that were before him, and also that were to come after him. Now comes Esay, and he affirmeth the same; speaking of the judgments done in his time in the common place, as it might be in Westminster-hall, the Guildhall, the Judges-hall, the Pretor-house; call it what you will—in the open place; for judges at that time, according to the manner, sat in the gates of the city, in the highway; a good and godly order, for to sit so that the poor people may easily come to them. But what saith Esay, that seditious fellow? He saith of his country this: *Expectavi ut faceret judicium, et fecit iniquitatem;* "I looked the judges should do their duty, and I saw them work iniquity." There was bribes-walking, money-making, making of hands, quoth the prophet, or rather Almighty God by the prophet; such is their partiality, affection, and bribes. They be such money-makers, enhancers, and promoters of themselves. Esay knew this by the crying of the people. *Ecce clamor populi,* saith he; and though some among them be unreasonable people, as many be now-a-days, yet no doubt of it, some cried not without a cause. And why? Their matters are not heard, they are fain to go home with weeping tears, that fall down by their cheeks, and ascend up to heaven, and cry for vengeance. Let judges look about them, for surely God will revenge his elect one day.

And surely methink if a judge would follow but a worldly reason, and weigh the matter politicly, without these examples of scripture, he should fear more the hurt that may be done him by a poor widow, or a miserable man, than by the greatest gentlemen of them all. God hath pulled the judges' skins over their heads for the poor man's sake. Yea, the poor widow may do him more hurt with her poor Paternoster in her mouth than any other weapon; and with two or three words she shall bring him down to the ground, and destroy his jollity, and cause him to lose more in one day than he gat in seven years. For God will revenge these miserable folks that cannot help themselves. He saith, *Ego in die visitationis, &c.*, "In the day of visitation I will revenge them." *An non ulciscetur anima mea?* "Shall not my soul be revenged?" As who should say, "I must needs

take their part." *Veniens veniam, et non tardabo;* "Yes, though I tarry, and though I seem to linger never so long, yet I will come at the length, and that shortly." And if God spake this, he will perform his promise. He hath for their sakes, as I told you, pulled the skin over the judges' ears ere this. King David trusted some in his old age that did him no very good service. Now, if in the people of God there were some folks that fell to bribing, then what was there among the heathen? Absolon, David's son, was a by-walker, and made disturbance among the people in his father's time; and though he were a wicked man, and a by-walker, yet some there were in that time that were good, and walked uprightly. I speak not this against the judge's seat; I speak not as though all judges were naught, and as though I did not hold with the judges, magistrates, and officers, as the Anabaptists these false heretics do. But I judge them honourable, necessary, and God's ordinance. I speak it as scripture speaketh, to give a caveat and a warning to all magistrates, to cause them to look to their offices. For the devil, the great magistrate, is very busy now; he is ever doing, he never ceaseth to go about to make them like himself. The proverb is, *Simile gaudet simili*, "Like would have like." If the judge be good and upright, he will assay to deceive him, either by the subtle suggestion of crafty lawyers, or else by false witness, and subtle uttering of a wrong matter. He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of law, to make them fall to bribery, to lay burdens on poor men's backs, and to make them fall to perjury, and to bring into the place of judgment all corruption, iniquity, and impiety.

I have spoken thus much, to occasion all judges and magistrates to look to their offices. They had need to look about them. This gear moved St Chrysostom to speak this sentence: *Miror si aliquis rectorum potest salvari:* "I marvel," said this doctor, "if any of these rulers or great magistrates can be saved." He spake it not for the impossibility of the thing, (God forbid that all the magistrates and judges should be condemned!) but for the difficulty.

Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell; that the devil would allow a man to look into hell, to see the state of it, as he shewed all the world when he tempted Christ in the wilderness! *Commonstrat illi omnia regna*

mundi, "He shewed him all the kingdoms of the world," and all their jollity, and told him that he would give him all, if he would kneel down and worship him. He lied like a false harlot: he could not give them, he was not able to give so much as a goose wing, for they were none of his to give. The other that he promised them unto, had more right to them than he. But I say, if one were admitted to view hell thus, and behold it thoroughly, the devil would say, "On yonder side are punished unpreaching prelates: I think a man should see as far as a kenning,[1] and see nothing but unpreaching prelates. He might look as far as Calais, I warrant you. And then if he would go on the other side, and shew where that bribing judges were, I think he should see so many, that there were scant room for any other. Our Lord God amend it!

Well, to our matter. This judge I speak of said, "Though I fear neither God, nor man," &c. And did he think thus? Is it the manner of wicked judges to confess their faults? Nay, he thought not so: and had a man come to him, and called him wicked, he would forthwith have commanded him to ward, he would have defended himself stoutly. It was God that spake in his conscience. God putteth him to utter such things as he saw in his heart, and were hid to himself. And there be like things in the scripture, as, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus;* "The unwise man said in his heart, There is no God:" and yet, if he should have been asked the question, he would have denied it.

Esay the prophet saith also, *Mendacio protecti sumus;* "We are defended with lies; we have put our trust in lies." And in another place he saith, *Ambulabo in pravitate cordis mei;* "I will walk in the wickedness of my heart." He uttereth what lieth in his heart, not known to himself, but to God. It was not for nought that Jeremy describeth man's heart in his colours: *Pravum cor hominis et inscrutabile;* "The heart of man is naughty, a crooked and froward piece of work." Let every man humble himself, and acknowledge his fault, and do as St Paul did. When the people to whom he had preached had said many things in his commendation, yet he durst not justify himself: Paul would not praise himself, to his own justification; and therefore, when they had spoken those things by him, "I pass not at all," saith he, "what ye say by me, I will not stand

[1] A distance as far as the eye can distinguish.

to your report." And yet he was not so froward, that when he heard the truth reported of him, he would say it to be false; but he said, "I will neither stand to your report, though it be good and just, neither yet I will say that it is untrue." He was *bonus pastor*, a good shepherd: he was one of them *qui bene præsunt*, that discharged his cure; and yet he thought that there might be a farther thing in himself than he saw in himself; and therefore he said, "The Lord shall judge me: I will stand only to the judgment of the Lord." For look, whom he judges to be good, he is sure; he is safe; he is cock-sure. I spake of this gear the last day, and of some I had little thank for my labour. I smelled some folks that were grieved with me for it, because I spake against temerarious judgment. "What hath he to do with judgment?" say they. I went about to keep you from arrogant judgment. Well; I could have said more than I did, and I can say much more now. For why? I know more of my lord-admiral's death since that time, than I did know before. "Oh," say they, "the man died very boldly; he would not have done so, had he not been in a just quarrel." This is no good argument, my friends: A man seemeth not to fear death, therefore his cause is good. This is a deceivable argument: He went to his death boldly, *ergo*, he standeth in a just quarrel. The Anabaptists that were burnt here in divers towns in England (as I heard of credible men, I saw them not myself,) went to their death even *intrepide*, as ye will say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully. Well, let them go. There was in the old doctors' times another kind of poisoned heretics, that were called Donatists; and these heretics went to their execution, as though they should have gone to some jolly recreation or banquet, to some belly-cheer, or to a play. And will ye argue then, He goeth to his death boldly or cheerfully, *ergo*, he dieth in a just cause? Nay, that sequel followeth no more than this: A man seems to be afraid of death, *ergo*, he dieth evil. And yet our Saviour Christ was afraid of death himself.

I warn you therefore, and charge you not to judge them that be in authority, but to pray for them. It becometh us not to judge great magistrates, nor to condemn their doings, unless their deeds be openly and apparently wicked. Charity requireth the same; for charity judgeth no man, but well of

everybody. And thus we may try whether we have charity or no; and if we have not charity, we are not God's disciples, for they are known by that badge. He that is his disciple, hath the work of charity in his breast. It is a worthy saying of a clerk, *Caritas si est operatur; si non operatur, non est:* "If there be charity, it worketh *omnia credere, omnia sperare,* to believe all things, to hope all;" to say the best of the magistrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter.

I will go further with you now. If I should have said all that I knew, your ears would have irked to have heard it, and now God hath brought more to light. And as touching the kind of his death, whether he be saved or no, I refer that to God only. What God can do, I can tell. I will not deny, but that he may in the twinkling of an eye save a man, and turn his heart. What he did, I cannot tell. And when a man hath two strokes with an axe, who can tell but that between two strokes he doth repent? It is very hard to judge. Well, I will not go so nigh to work; but this I will say, if they ask me what I think of his death, that he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly. The man being in the Tower wrote certain papers which I saw myself. There were two little ones, one to my lady Mary's grace, and another to my lady Elizabeth's grace, tending to this end, that they should conspire against my lord Protector's grace: surely, so seditiously as could be. Now what a kind of death was this, that when he was ready to lay his head upon the block, he turns me to the Lieutenant's servant, and saith, "Bid my servant speed the thing that he wots of?" Well, the word was overheard. His servant confessed these two papers, and they were found in a shoe of his: they were sewed between the soles of a velvet shoe. He made his ink so craftily and with such workmanship, as the like hath not been seen. I was prisoner in the Tower myself, and I could never invent to make ink so. It is a wonder to hear of his subtilty. He made his pen of the aglet of a point, that he plucked from his hose, and thus wrote these letters so seditiously, as ye have heard, enforcing many matters against my lord Protector's grace, and so forth. God had left him to himself, he had clean forsaken him. What would he have done, if he had lived still, that went about this gear, when he laid his head on the block, at the end of his life? Charity, they say, worketh but godly,

and not after this sort. Well; he is gone, he knoweth his fate by this, he is either in joy or in pain. There is but two states, if we be once gone. There is no change. This is the speech of the scripture: *Ubicunque lignum ceciderit, ibi erit, sive in austrum, sive in aquilonem*: "Wheresoever the tree falleth, either into the south, or into the north, there it shall rest." By the falling of the tree is signified the death of man: if he fall into the south, he shall be saved; for the south is hot, and betokeneth charity or salvation: if he fall in the north, in the cold of infidelity, he shall be damned. There are but two states, the state of salvation and the state of damnation. There is no repentance after this life, but if he die in the state of damnation, he shall rise in the same: yea, though he have a whole monkery to sing for him, he shall have his final sentence when he dieth. And that servant of his that confessed and uttered this gear was an honest man. He did honestly in it. God put it in his heart. And as for the other, whether he be saved, or no, I leave it to God. But surely he was a wicked man: the realm is well rid of him: it hath a treasure that he is gone. He knoweth his fare by this. A terrible example, surely, and to be noted of every man. Now before he should die, I heard say, he had commendations to the king, and spake many words of his majesty. All is, 'The King, the King.' Yea, *bona verba*. These were fair words, 'The King, the King.' I was travailed in the Tower myself, (with the king's commandment and the council,) and there was Sir Robert Constable, the lord Hussey, the lord Darcy: and the lord Darcy was telling me of the faithful service that he had done the king's majesty that dead is. "And I had seen my sovereign lord in the field," said he, "and I had seen his grace come against us, I would have lighted from my horse, and taken my sword by the point, and yielded it into his grace's hands." "Marry," quoth I, "but in the mean season ye played not the part of a faithful subject, in holding with the people in a commotion and a disturbance." It hath been the cast of all traitors to pretend nothing against the king's person; they never pretend the matter to the king, but to other. Subjects may not resist any magistrates, nor ought to do nothing contrary to the king's laws; and therefore these words, "The King," and so forth, are of small effect.

I heard once a tale of a thing that was done at Oxford twenty years ago, and the like hath been since in this realm,

as I was informed of credible persons, and some of them that saw it be alive yet. There was a priest that was robbed of a great sum of money, and there were two or three attached for the same robbery; and, to be brief, were condemned, and brought to the place of execution. The first man, when he was upon the ladder, denied the matter utterly, and took his death upon it, that he never consented to the robbery of the priest, nor never knew of it. When he was dead, the second fellow cometh, and maketh his protestation, and acknowledged the fault; saying, that among other grievous offences that he had done, he was accessary to this robbery: and, saith he, "I had my part of it, I cry God mercy: so had this fellow that died before me his part." Now who can judge whether this fellow died well or no? Who can judge a man's heart? The one denied the matter, and the other confessed it: there is no judging of such matters.

I have heard much wickedness of this man, and I thought oft, Jesu, what will worth, what will be the end of this man? When I was with the bishop of Chichester in ward, (I was not so with him but my friends might come to me, and talk with me,) I was desirous to hear of execution done, as there was every week some, in one place of the city or other; for there was three weeks' sessions at Newgate, and fortnight sessions at the Marshalsea, and so forth: I was desirous, I say, to hear of execution, because I looked that my part should have been therein. I looked every day to be called to it myself. Among all other, I heard of a wanton woman, a naughty liver. A whore, a vain body, was led from Newgate to the place of execution for a certain robbery that she had committed, and she had a wicked communication by the way. Here I will take occasion to move your grace, that such men as shall be put to death may have learned men to give them instruction and exhortation. For the reverence of God, when they be put to execution, let them have instructors; for many of them are cast away for lack of instruction, and die miserably for lack of good preaching. This woman, I say, as she went by the way, had wanton and foolish talk, as this: "that if good fellows had kept touch with her, she had not been at this time in that case." And amongst all other talk she said that such an one (and named this man) had first misled her: and, hearing this of him at that time, I looked ever what would be his end, what would become of him. He was a man the farthest

from the fear of God that ever I knew or heard of in England. First, he was the author of all this woman's whoredom; for if he had not led her wrong, she might have been married and become an honest woman, whereas now being naught with him, she fell afterwards by that occasion to other: and they that were naught with her fell to robbery, and she followed; and thus was he the author of all this. This gear came by sequel. Peradventure this may seem to be a light matter, but surely it is a great matter; and he by unrepentance fell from evil to worse, and from worse to worst of all, till at the length he was made a spectacle to all the world. I have heard say he was of the opinion that he believed not the immortality of the soul; that he was not right in this matter: and it might well appear by the taking of his death. But ye will say, "What! ye slander; ye break charity." Nay, it is charity that I do. We can have no better use of him now than to warn other to beware of him. Christ saith, *Memores estote uxoris Loth;* "Remember Loth's wife." She was a woman that would not be content with her good state, but wrestled with God's calling, and she was for that cause turned into a salt stone; and therefore the scripture doth name her as an example for us to take heed by. Ye shall see also in the second chapter, how that God Almighty spared not a number of his angels, which had sinned against him, to make them examples to us to beware by. He drowned the whole world in the time of Noah, and destroyed for sin the cities of Sodom and Gomor. And why? *Fecit eos exemplum iis qui impii forent acturi;* "He made them an example to them that would do wickedly in time to come." If God would not spare them, think ye he will favour us?

I will go on a word or two in the application of the parable, and then I will make an end. To what end and to what purpose brought Christ this parable of the wicked judge? The end is, that we should be continually in prayer. Prayer is never interrupted but by wickedness. We must therefore walk orderly, uprightly, calling upon God in all our troubles and adversities; and for this purpose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the scripture, than here now in the lapping up of the matter. Therefore I will open it unto you. You miserable people, if there be any here amongst you, that are oppressed with great men, and can get no help, I speak for your comfort; I will open unto you

whither ye shall resort, when ye be in any distress. His good-will is ready, always at hand, whensoever we shall call for it; and therefore he calls us to himself. We shall not doubt if we come to him. Mark what he saith, to cause us that we believe that our prayers shall be heard: *et Deus non faciet vindictam?* He reasons after this fashion: "Will not God," saith he, "revenge his elect, and hear them;" seeing the wicked judge heard the widow? He seemeth to go plainly to work: he willeth us to pray to God, and to none but to God. We have a manner of reasoning in the schools, and it is called, *a minore ad majus*, "from the less to the more," and that may be used here. The judge was a tyrant, a wicked man. God is a patron, a defender, father unto us. If the judge then, being a tyrant, would hear the poor widow, much more God will hear us in all distresses: he being a father unto us, he will hear us, sooner than the other, being no father, having no fatherly affection. Moreover, God is naturally merciful. The judge was cruel, and yet he helped the widow; much more then will God help us at our need. He saith by the oppressed, *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione*, "I am with him in his trouble:" his tribulation is mine; I am touched with his trouble. If the judge then, being a cruel man, heard the widow; much more God will help us, being touched with our affliction.

Furthermore, this judge gave the widow no commandment to come to him: we have a commandment to resort to God; for he saith, *Invoca me in die tribulationis*, "Call upon me in the day of thy tribulations:" which is as well a commandment as, *Non furaberis*, "Thou shalt not steal." He that spake the one spake the other; and whatsoever he be that is in trouble, and calleth not upon God, breaketh his commandment. Take heed therefore: the judge did not promise the widow help; God promiseth us help, and will he not perform it? He will, he will. The judge, I say, did not promise the widow help; God will give us both hearing and helping. He hath promised it us with a double oath: Amen, Amen, saith he, "Verily, verily," (he doubles it,) *Quæcunque petieritis, &c.*, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, ye shall have it." And though he put off some sinner for a time, and suffer him to bite on the bridle to prove him, (for there be many beginners, but few continuers in prayer,) yet we may not think that he hath forgotten us, and will not help us: *Veniens veniet, non tardabit*, "When the help is

most needful, then he will come, and not tarry." He knoweth when it shall be best for us to have help: though he tarry, he will come at the last.

I will trouble you but half a quarter of an hour in the application of the parable, and so commit you to God.

What should it mean, that God would have us so diligent and earnest in prayer? Hath he such pleasure in our works? Many talk of prayer, and make it a lip-labouring. Praying is not babbling; nor praying is not monkery. It is, to miserable folk that are oppressed, a comfort, solace and a remedy. But what maketh our prayer to be acceptable to God? It lieth not in our power; we must have it by another mean. Remember what God said of his Son: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui;* "This is my dear Son, in whom I delight." He hath pleasure in nothing but in him. How cometh it to pass that our prayer pleaseth God? Our prayer pleaseth God, because Christ pleaseth God. When we pray, we come unto him in the confidence of Christ's merits, and thus offering up our prayers, they shall be heard for Christ's sake. Yea, Christ will offer them up for us, that offered up once his sacrifice to God, which was acceptable; and he that cometh with any other mean than this, God knoweth him not.

This is not the missal sacrifice, the popish sacrifice, to stand at the altar, and offer up Christ again. Out upon it that ever it was used! I will not say nay, but that ye shall find in the old doctors this word *sacrificium;* but there is one general solution for all the doctors that St Augustine sheweth us: "The sign of a thing hath oftentimes the name of the thing that it signifieth." As the supper of the Lord is the sacrament of another thing, it is a commemoration of his death, which suffered once for us; and because it is a sign of Christ's offering up, therefore he bears the name thereof. And this sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man; yea, a poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up this sacrifice, as hath the bishop in his *pontificalibus*, with his mitre on his head, his rings on his fingers, and sandals on his feet. And whosoever cometh asking the Father remedy in his necessity for Christ's sake, he offereth up as acceptable a sacrifice as any bishop can do.

And so, to make an end: this must be done with a constant faith and a sure confidence in Christ. Faith, faith, faith; we are undone for lack of faith. Christ nameth faith

here, faith is all together: "When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith on the earth?" Why speaketh he so much of faith? Because it is hard to find a true faith. He speaketh not of a political faith, a faith set up for a time; but a constant, a permanent, a durable faith, as durable as God's word.

He came many times: first in the time of Noe when he preached, but he found little faith. He came also when Lot preached, when he destroyed Sodome and Gomora, but he found no faith. And to be short, he shall come at the latter day, but he shall find a little faith. And I ween the day be not far off. When he was here carnally, did he find any faith? Many speak of faith, but few there be that hath it. Christ mourneth the lack of it: he complaineth that when he came, he found no faith.

This Faith is a great state, a lady, a duchess, a great woman; and she hath ever a great company and train about her, as a noble estate ought to have. First, she hath a gentleman-usher that goeth before her, and where he is not there is not lady Faith. This gentleman-usher is called *Agnitio peccatorum*, knowledge of sin; when we enter into our heart, and acknowledge our faults, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these winkers; he kicks not when he hears his fault. Now, as the gentleman-usher goeth before her, so she hath a train that cometh behind her; and yet, though they come behind, they be all of Faith's company, they are all with her: as Christ, when he counterfeited a state going to Jerusalem, some went before him, and some after, yet all were of his company. So all these wait upon Faith, she hath a great train after her, besides her gentleman-usher, her whole household; and those be the works of our vocation, when every man considereth what vocation he is in, what calling he is in, and doth the works of the same; as, to be good to his neighbour, to obey God, &c. This is the train that followeth lady Faith: as for an example; a faithful judge hath first an heavy reckoning of his fault, repenting himself of his wickedness, and then forsaketh his iniquity, his impiety, feareth no man, walks upright; and he that doth not thus hath not lady Faith, but rather a boldness of sin and abusing of Christ's passion. Lady Faith is never without her gentleman-usher, nor without her train: she is no anchoress, she dwells not alone, she is never a private woman, she is never alone. And yet

many there be that boast themselves that they have faith, and that when Christ shall come they shall do well enough. Nay, nay, those that be faithful shall be so few, that Christ shall scarce see them. "Many there be that runneth," saith St Paul, "but there is but one that receiveth the reward." It shall be with the multitude, when Christ shall come, as it was in the time of Noe, and as it was in the time of Lot. In the time of Noe, "they were eating and drinking, building and planting, and suddenly the water came upon them, and drowned them." In the time of Lot also, "they were eating and drinking, &c., and suddenly the fire came upon them, and devoured them." And now we are eating and drinking: there was never such building then as is now, planting, nor marrying. And thus it shall be, even when Christ shall come at judgment.

Is eating, and drinking, and marrying, reproved in scripture? Is it not? Nay, he reproveth not all kind of eating and drinking, he must be otherwise understanded. If the scripture be not truly expounded, what is more erroneous? And though there be complainings of some eating and drinking in the scripture, yet he speaketh not as though all were naught. They may be well ordered, they are God's allowance: but to eat and drink as they did in Noe's time, and as they did in Loth's time, this eating, and drinking, and marrying, is spoken against. To eat and drink in the forgetfulness of God's commandment, voluptuously, in excess and gluttony, this kind of eating and drinking is naught; when it is not done moderately, soberly, and with all circumspection. And likewise to marry for fleshly lust, and for their own phantasy. There was never such marrying in England as is now. I hear tell of stealing of wards to marry their children to. This is a strange kind of stealing: but it is not the wards, it is the lands that they steal. And some there be that knit up marriages together, not for any love or godliness in the parties, but to get friendship, and make them strong in the realm, to increase their possessions, and to join land to land. And other there be that inveigle men's daughters, in the contempt of their fathers, and go about to marry them without their consent: this marrying is ungodly. And many parents constrain their sons and daughters to marry where they love not, and some are beaten and compulsed. And they that marry thus, marry in a forgetfulness and obliviousness of God's commandments. But as in the

time of Noe suddenly a clap fell in their bosoms; so it shall be with us at the latter day, when Christ shall come. We have as little conscience as may be; and when he shall come, he shall lack lady Faith. Well is them that shall be of that little flock, that shall be set on the right hand, &c.

I have troubled you long, partly being out of my matter, partly being in; but now I will make an end. I began with this text, *Quæcunque scripta sunt*, &c.; so I will end now for mine own ease, as an old truant, with this sentence, *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei*, &c., "Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." I told you in the beginning of this parable of *bene: Nil melius quam lætari et facere.* If I had ceased there, all had been well, quoth the merry monk. So, "Blessed are they that hear the word of God;" but what followeth? "and keep it." Our blessedness cometh of the keeping. It hangs all on the end of the tale, in crediting and assenting to the word, and following of it. And thus we shall begin our blessedness here, and at length we shall come to the blessing that never shall have end; which God grant both you and me. *Amen.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

The Fifth Sermon preached before King Edward, April 5, 1549.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.—ROM. xv. 4.
All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

WHAT doctrine is written for us in the parable of the judge and the widow, I have opened it to you, most honourable audience. Something as concerning the judge, I would wish and pray that it might be a little better kept in memory, that in the seat of justice no more iniquity and unrighteousness might reign. Better a little well kept, than a great deal forgotten. I would the judges would take forth their lesson, that there might be no more iniquity used, nor bribe-taking; for if there shall be bribing, they know the peril of it, they know what shall follow. I would also they should take an example of this judge, that did say, not that that he thought himself, but our Saviour Christ puts him to say that thing that was hid unto himself. Wherefore I would ye should keep in memory, how unsearchable a man's heart is. I would ye should remember the fall of the angels, and beware thereby; the fall of the old world, and beware thereby; the fall of Sodome and Gomora, and beware thereby; the fall of Loth's wife, and beware thereby; the fall of the man that suffered of late, and beware thereby.

I would not that miserable folk should forget the argument of the wicked judge, to induce them to prayer; which argument is this: If the judge, being a tyrant, a cruel man, a wicked man, which did not call her to him, made her no promise, nor in hearing nor helping of her cause, yet in the end of the matter, for the importunity's sake, did help her; much more Almighty God, which is a father, who beareth a fatherly affection, as the father doth to the child, and is

naturally merciful, and calleth us to him, with his promise that he will hear them that call upon him, that be in distress, and burdened with adversity. Remember this. You know where to have your remedy. You by your prayer can work great efficacy, and your prayer with tears is an instrument of great efficacy : it can bring many things to pass.

But what thing is that that maketh our prayer acceptable to God? Is it our babbling? No, no; it is not our babbling, nor our long prayer; there is another thing than it. The dignity and worthiness of our words is of no such virtue. For whosoever resorteth unto God, not in the confidence of his own merits, but in the sure trust of the deserving of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in his passion; whosoever doth invocate the Father of heaven in the trust of Christ's merits, which offering is the most comfortable and acceptable offering to the Father; whosoever, I say, offereth up Christ, which is a perfect offering, he cannot be denied the thing he desireth, so that it be expedient for him to have it. It is not the babbling of our lips, nor dignity of our words, but the prayer of the heart is the offering that pleaseth, through the only means of his Son. For our prayer profiteth us, because we offer Christ to his Father. Whosoever resorteth to God without Christ, he resorteth in vain. Our prayer pleaseth because of Jesus Christ, whom we offer. So that it is faith, faith, faith is the matter. It is no prayer that is without faith, it is but a lip-labouring and mockery, without faith; it is but a little babbling.

I spake also of lack of faith; and upon that also I said, The end of the world is near at hand; for there is lack of faith now; also the defection is come, and swerving from the faith. Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of iniquity, is revealed; the latter day is at hand. Let us not think his coming is far off. But whensoever he cometh, he shall find iniquity enough, let him come when he will. What is now behind? We be eating and drinking as they were in Noe's time; and marrying, I think as wickedly as ever was. We be building, purchasing, planting, in the contempt of God's word. He may come shortly, when he will, for there is so much mischief, and swerving from the faith, reigning now in our days, as ever was in any age. It is a good warning to us all, to make ready against his coming.

This little rehearsal I have made of the things I spake in my last sermon. I will now for this day return to my

question, and dissolve it, whether God's people may be governed by a governor that beareth the name of a king, or no? The Jews had a law, that when they should have a king, they should have him according to the election of God: he would not leave the election of a king to their own brains. There be some busy brains, wanton wits, that say, the name of a king is an odious name; and wrest this text of the scripture, where God seemeth to be angry and displeased with the Israelites for asking a king; expounding it very evil and odiously: as who would say, a king were an odious thing. I coming riding in my way, and calling to remembrance wherefore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach before the king's majesty, I thought it meet to frame my preaching according to a king. Musing of this, I remembered of myself a book that came from cardinal Pole, master Pole, the king's traitor, which he sent to the king's majesty. I never remember that man, methink, but I remember him with a heavy heart: a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house; so in favour, that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, that he had been bishop of York at this day. To be bidden by, he would have done much good in that part of the realm; for those quarters have always had great need of a learned man and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man should take such a way. I hear say, he readeth much St Hierome's works, and is well seen in them; but I would he would follow St Hierome, where he expoundeth this place of scripture, "*Exite de illa, populus meus:*" Almighty God saith, "Get you from it, get you from Rome;" he calleth it the purple whore of Babylon. It had been more commendable to go from it, than to come to it. What his sayings be in his book, I do not well remember; it is in the farthest end of my memory. He declareth himself in it to have a corrupt judgment. I have but a glimmering of it, yet in general I remember the scope of it. He goeth about to dissuade the king from his supremacy. In his persuasions he is very homely, very quick, and sharp with the king, as these cardinals will take well upon them. He saith, that a king is an odious word, and toucheth the place how God was offended with the Israelites for calling for a king. Very lightly he seemeth to set forth the title of a king; as though he should mean: What is a king? What should a

king take upon him to redress matters of religion? It pertaineth to our holy father of Rome. A king is a name and a title rather suffered of God as an evil thing, than allowed as a good thing. Calling this to remembrance, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Now I will answer to this. For the answer I must somewhat rip the eighth chapter of the first book of the Kings. And that I may have grace, &c.

To come to the opening of this matter, I must begin at the beginning of the chapter; that the unlearned, although I am sure here be a great many well learned, may the better come to the understanding of the matter: *Factum est cum senuisset Samuel, fecit filios suos judices populo*, "It came to pass when Samuel was stricken in age, he made his sons judges over Israel." Of Samuel I might fetch a process afar off, of the story of Elcana, who was his father, and who was his mother. Elcana, his father, had two wives, Anna and Phenenna, and did not put them away as men do now-a-days. There was debate between these two wives. Phenenna, in the doing of sacrifice, embraided Anna because she was barren and not fruitful. I might take here occasion to entreat of the duty between man and wife, which is a holy religion, but not religiously kept. But I will not enter into that matter at this time. Well, in process of time God made Anna fruitful through her devout prayer: she brought forth Samuel, who by the ordinance of God was made the high priest: father Samuel, a good man, a singular example, and singular pattern, a man alone, few such men as father Samuel was. To be short, he was now come to age, he was an old man, an impotent man, not able to go from place to place to minister justice; he elected and chose two suffragans, two coadjutors, two co-helpers. I mean not hallowers of bells, nor christeners of bells; that is a popish suffraganship. He made them to help him to discharge his office: he chose his two sons rather than other, because he knew them to be well brought up in virtue and learning. It was not for any carnal affection; he cared not for his renown or revenues, but he appointed them for the ease of the people, the one for to supply his place in Bethsabe, and the other in Bethlem; as we have now in England, for the wealth of the realm, we have two lords presidents. Surely it is well done, and a goodly order: I would there were a third in another place. For the ease of his people, good father Samuel, and to discharge his offices in places where he could not come himself,

he set his two sons in office with him as his suffragans and as his coadjutors. Here I might take occasion to treat, what old and impotent bishops should do, what old preachers should do, when they come to impotency, to join with them preachers, (preachers, not bell-hallowers,) and to depart part of their living with them. I might have dilated this matter at large; but I am honestly prevented of this common-place, and I am very glad of it: it was very well handled the last Sunday. They that will not for the office sake receive other, regard more the fleece than the flock. Father Samuel regarded not his revenues. Our Lord give them grace to be affected as he was, and to follow him, &c.!

Though I say that I would wish more lords presidents, I mean not, that I would have prelates lords presidents; nor that lords bishops should be lords presidents. As touching that, I said my mind and conscience the last year. And although it is said, *præsunt*, it is not meant that they should be lords presidents. The office of a presidentship is a civil office, and it cannot be that one man shall discharge both well.

It followeth in the text, *Non ambulaverunt filii ejus in viis ejus*, "His sons walked not in his ways." Here is the matter, here ye see the goodness of Samuel, how when he was not able to take the pains himself, for their own ease, he appointed them judges near unto them, as it were in the further parts of his realm, to have justice rightly ministered. But what followed? Though Samuel were good, and his children well brought up, look what the world can do! Ah, crafty world! whom shall not this world corrupt and deceive at one time or other? Samuel thought his sons should have proved well, but yet Samuel's sons walked not in their father's way. Why? What then? Is the son always bound to walk in the father's way? No, ye must not take it for a general rule. All sons are not to be blamed for not walking in their father's ways. Ezekias did not follow the steps of his father Ahaz, and was well allowed in it. Josias, the best king that ever was in Jewry, reformed his father's ways, who walked in worldly policy. In his youth he took away all idolatry, and purged his realm of it, and set a good order in all his dominions, and wrestled with idolatry. And although his father or his grandfather Manasses (it makes no matter whether) repented in the end, he had no time to reform things, he left it to his son to be done. Josias began, and made an alteration in his childhood;

he turned all upside-down, he would suffer no idolatry to stand. Therefore you must not take it for a general rule, that the son must ever walk in his father's ways. Here I will renew that which I said before of the stiff-necked Jews, the rebellious people, that is their title; they never spake so rebelliously as to say they would not receive any alteration till their king came to age. Much less we Englishmen, if there be any such in England, may be ashamed. I wonder with what conscience folk can hear such things, and allow it.

This Josias made a notable alteration; and therefore take it not for a general rule, that the son shall always walk in his father's ways. Think not because he was slain in battle, that God was displeased with him: for herein God shewed his goodness to him wonderfully; who would not suffer him to see the captivity that he would bring upon the Israelites. He would not have him to have the sight, the feeling, and the beholding of his plague; he suffered him to be taken away before, and to be slain of the king of Egypt. Wherefore a just man must be glad when he is taken from misery: *Justus si morte præoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit;* "If a just man be prevented with death, it shall be to his relief:" he must think that he is one of those whom the world is not worthy to have. It came of a singular goodness of God, that he was by death delivered from the sight of that captivity. Therefore take it not for a general rule, that the son be always bound to walk in the father's ways: *Nolite in præceptis patrum vestrorum incedere*, "Walk not in the commandments of your fathers;" for so it is said in another place of scripture. It is spoken to the reproach of Samuel's sons, that they walked not in his way, for he was a good man: a wonderful thing that these children, being so well brought up, should so fall and be corrupt. If the devil can prevail and hath power against them that had so godly education, what vantage hath he at them that be brought up in iniquity and covetousness? It is a proverb, that *Magistratus virum commonstrat*, "Office and authority sheweth what a man is." A man knoweth not himself till he be tried. Many there be that being without office can rebuke magistrates, and find fault with men that be in office and pre-eminence: after, when it cometh to their chance to come to office themselves, then they have taken out a new lesson; *Cum essem parvulus sapiebam ut parvulus*, "When I was a child I savoured as a child." They will do then as

other men do; they are come to have experience, to be practitioners. The maid's child is ever best taught: for he that standeth upright in office, he is the fellow. Samuel would never have thought that his sons should have been so corrupted. It is a perilous thing, a dangerous state to be a judge. They felt the smack of this world, a perilous thing: and therefore Chrysostom saith, *Miror si aliquis rectorum salvabitur;* "I marvel," saith he, "that any ruler can be saved." If the peril were well considered, men would not be so desirous as they be. The world, the world hath many subtle sleights: it is a crafty thing, and very deceitful, a corrupter; and who is it whom the world doth not corrupt and blind at one time or other? What was the way they walked? *Declinaverunt post avaritiam*, that is one: they stooped after gains, turned aside after lucre. What followed? *Acceperunt munera*, they took rewards, gifts; bribes I should call them, for that is their right name. *Perverterunt judicium*, they turned justice upside down. Either they would give wrong judgment, or else put off and delay poor men's matters. These were their ways, here is the devil's genealogy; a gradation of the devil's making: this is *scala inferni*, the ladder of hell.

I told you before of *scala cœli*, the ladder of heaven; I would you should not forget it. The steps thereof are set forth in the tenth to the Romans. The first is preaching, then hearing, then believing, and last of all salvation. *Scala cœli* is a preaching matter, I tell you, and not a massing matter. God's instrument of salvation is preaching. Here I move you, my lords, not to be greedy and outrageous in enhancing and raising of your rents to the minishing of the office of salvation. It would pity a man's heart to hear that that I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford, I cannot tell. There be few do study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges; for their livings be so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go other where to seek livings; and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity. Alas! what is that? It will come to pass that we shall have nothing but a little English divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness and utter decay of learning. It is not that, I wis, that will keep out the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Here I will make a supplication, that ye would bestow so

much to the finding of scholars of good wits, of poor men's sons, to exercise the office of salvation, in relieving of scholars, as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage-matters, in trentals, in masses, in pardons, in purgatory-matters. Ye bestowed that liberally, bountifully; but this was not well spent. You had a zeal, but not *secundum scientiam*, "not according to knowledge." You may be sure, if you bestow your goods on this wise, ye shall bestow it well, to support and uphold God's word, wherein ye shall please God. I require no more but that ye bestow so much godly as ye were wont to bestow ungodly. It is a reasonable petition; for God's sake look upon it. I say no more. There be none now but great men's sons in colleges, and their fathers look not to have them preachers; so every way this office of preaching is pinched at. I will speak no more of *scala cœli*. But I am sure this is *scala inferni*, the right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and pervert justice. If a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would shew him this way: first, let him be a covetous man, let his heart be poisoned with covetousness; then let him go a little further and take bribes; and last, pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother and the daughter, and the daughter's daughter. Avarice is the mother, she brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking perverting of judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess, which, (so God help me!) if I were judge, should be *hangum tuum*, a Tyburn tippet to take with him, and it were the judge of the king's bench, my lord chief judge of England; yea, and it were my lord chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him. There was within these thirty years a certain widow, which suddenly was attached, had to prison, indicted, condemned, and there were certain learned men that visited her in the prison. Oh, I would ye would resort to prisons! A commendable thing in a christian realm: I would wish there were curates for prisons, that we might say, the curate of Newgate, the curate of the Fleet, and I would have them waged for their labour. It is a holiday work to visit the prisoners, for they be kept from sermons. There was that resorted to this woman, who when she came to prison, was all on her beads, and nothing else, a popish woman, and savoured not of Jesu Christ. In process she was so applied, that she tasted *quam suavis est Dominus;* she had such a savour, such a sweetness and feeling, that she thought it long to the day of execution. She was with Christ already, as

touching faith; she had such a desire that she said with St Paul, *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo*, "I desire to be rid, and to be with Christ." The word of God had so wrought in her. When she was brought to punishment, she desired to confess her fault: she took of her death, that she was guiltless in that thing she suffered for, and her neighbours would have borne her witness in the same. She was always an honest civil woman; her neighbours would have gone on her purgation a great way. They would needs have her confess. "Then," saith she, "I am not guilty. Would ye have me make me guilty where I am not?" Yet for all this she was a trepasser, she had done a great offence. But before I go forward with this, I must first tell you a tale. I heard a good while ago a tale of one (I saw the man that told me the tale not long ago) in this auditory. He hath travelled in more countries than one. He told me that there was once a prætor in Rome, lord mayor of Rome, a rich man, one of the richest merchants in all the city, and suddenly he was cast in the castle Angel. It was heard of, and every man whispered in another's ear, "What hath he done? Hath he killed any man?" "No." "Hath he meddled with alum, our holy father's merchandise?" "No." "Hath he counterfeited our holy father's bulls?" "No." For these were high treasons. One rounded another in the ear, and said, *Erat dives*, "He was a rich man:" a great fault. Here was a goodly prey for that holy father. It was in pope Julius's time; he was a great warrior. This prey would help him to maintain his wars; a jolly prey for our holy father. So this woman was *dives:* she was a rich woman, she had her lands by the sheriff's nose. He was a gentleman of a long nose. Such a cup, such a cover! She would not depart from her own. This sheriff was a covetous man, a worldly man. The judge, at the impanelling of the quest, had his grave looks, and charged them with this: "It was the king's matter, look well upon it." When it makes for their purpose, they have "The King, the King," in their mouths. Well, somewhat there was, there was walking of angels between them. I would wish that of such a judge in England now we might have the skin hanged up. It were a goodly sign, the sign of the judge's skin. It should be Lot's wife to all judges that should follow after.

By this ye may perceive it is possible for a man to answer for himself, and be arraigned at the bar, and never-

theless to have wrong: yea, ye shall have it in form of law, and yet have wrong too. So it is possible, in a case, for a man that hath in his absence attaintment, to have right and no wrong. I will not say nay but it is a good law for a man to answer for himself: this is reasonable, allowable, and good. And yet such an urgent cause may be, such a respect to a commonwealth, that a man may rightly be condemned in his absence. There be such causes that a man may in his absence be condemned, but not oft, except they be such cases that the reason of the general law may be kept. I am provoked of some to condemn this law, but I am not able, so it be but for a time, and upon weighty considerations; so that it be used rarely, seldomly: for avoiding disturbance in the commonwealth, such an epiky[1] and moderation may be used in it. And nevertheless it is very meet and requisite that a man should answer for himself. We must consider the ground of the law: for *Ratio legis anima legis*, "The reason of the law is the soul of the law." Why? What is the reason and end of the law? It is this, that no man should be injured. A man may in his attaintment have no more wrong done him than if he answered for himself. Ah! then I am not able to say, that in no wise an arraignment may be turned into attaintment. A man may have wrong, and that in open judgment and in form of law, and yet allowed to answer for himself; and even so is possible he may have right, though he never answer for himself. I will not say but that the parliament-houses, both high and low, may err, and yet they may do well, and christian subjects must take all things to the best, and expound their doings well, although they cannot yield a reason for it, except their proceedings be manifestly wicked. For though they cannot attain to see for what purpose things be done, it is no good reason that they be called evil done therefore. And is this a good argument, "He is not allowed to answer for himself in this place or that place, where he will appoint; *ergo*, he is not allowed

[1] (ἐπιείκεια) "Is that parte of justice called in Latine *æquum* and *bonum:* in English there is not any one word founden therefor; but that therby may be understand that equitee which omitteth parte of the rigour or extremitee of a law that is written, or conformeth justice to the occasion newly happened, which was not remembred of the makers of the lawe; applying it to the thing whereof leaste detriment may seeme to ensue." Bibliothec. Eliotæ, sub voc. *Epiicia* or *Epiices*.

to answer for himself?" No: he might have answered the best he could for himself before a great many, and have had more too if he had required them: yea, and was commanded upon his allegiance to speak for himself and to make answer; but he would not. Needs he would come out to judgment, and appoint the place himself. A man that answers for himself at the bar is not allowed his man of law to answer for him, but he must answer himself. Yet in the parliament, although he were not there himself, any friend he had had liberty to answer for him, frank and free. I know of the old manner: the tenor of the writs is this,—every man to speak the best he knoweth of his conscience, for the king's majesty's honour, and the wealth of the realm. There were in the parliament, in both houses, a great many learned men, conscionable men, wise men. When that man was attainted there, and they had liberty there to say nay to his attaintment if they would; sure I am the most allowed it, or else it could not have gone forward.

These premises considered, I would have you to bear such a heart as it becometh christian subjects. I know what men say of me well enough. I could purge myself. There is that provokes me to speak against this law of attaintment: they say I am not indifferent. Surely I would have it to be done rarely, upon some great respect to the commonwealth, for avoiding of greater tumult and peril. St Paul was allowed to answer for himself: if Lysias the tribune had not plucked him away from shewing of his matter, it had cost him his life. Where he was saved by the magistrate, being but a private man; will ye not allow that something be done as well for saving of the magistrate's life? It behoves them of the parliament to look well upon the matter: and I, for my part, think not but they did well; else I should not yield the duty of a subject. Some liken me to doctor Shaw, that preached at Paul's Cross, that king Edward's sons were bastards. An easy matter for one of the council to do as doctor Shaw did. Methink you, being the king's servant and his officer, should think better on the king and his council, though I were light of belief. If he had been a true man to his master, he would never have spoken it. The council needs not my lie for the defence of that that they do. I can bear it of myself. Concerning myself, that which I have spoken hath done some good. You will say this: the parliament-house are wiser than I am,

you might leave them to the defence of themselves. Although the men of the parliament-house can defend themselves, yet have I spoken this of a good zeal, and a good ground, of the admiral's writing; I have not feigned nor lied one jot, I take God to witness. Use therefore your judgment and languages as it becometh christian subjects. I will now leave the honourable council to answer for themselves. He confessed one fact, he would have had the governance of the king's majesty. And wot you why? He said he would not, in his minority, have him brought up like a ward. I am sure he hath been brought up so godly, with such schoolmasters, as never king was in England, and so hath prospered under them as never none did. I wot not what he meant by his bringing up like a ward, unless he would have him not to go to his book and learn as he doth. Now wo worth him! Yet I will not say so neither, but I pray God amend him, or else God send him short life, that would have my sovereign not to be brought up in learning, and would pluck him from his book. I advertise thee therefore, my fellow-subject, use thy tongue better, and expound well the doings of the magistrates.

Now to the purpose; for these things let me of my matter. Some say preachers should not meddle with such matters; but did not our Saviour Jesus Christ meddle with matters of judgment, when he spake of the wicked judge, to leave example to us to follow, to do the same? Ye see here that lady Covetousness is a fruitful woman, ever childing, and ever bringing forth her fruits. It is a true saying, *Radix omnium malorum avaritia*, "Covetousness is the root of all wickedness." One will say, peradventure, "You speak unseemly and inconveniently, so to be against the officers for taking of rewards in doing pleasures. Ye consider not the matter to the bottom. Their offices be bought for great sums; now how should they receive their money again but by bribing? Ye would have them undone. Some of them gave two hundred pound, some five hundred pound, some two thousand pound: and how shall they gather up this money again, but by helping themselves in their office?" And is it so, trow ye? Are civil offices bought for money? Lord God, who would have thought that! Let us not be too hasty to credit it: for then we have the old proverb, *Omnia venalia Romæ*, "All things are sold for money at Rome;" and Rome is come home to our own doors. If they

buy, they must needs sell; for it is wittily spoken, *Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius*, "He may lawfully sell it, he bought it before. God forfend that ever any such enormity should be in England, that civil offices should be bought and sold; whereas men should have them given them for their worthiness! I would the king's majesty should seek through his realm for meet men, and able men, worthy to be in office, yea, and give them liberally for their pains; and rather give them money to take the office in hand, than they to give money for it. This buying of offices is a making of bribery; it is an inducing and enforcing and compelling of men to bribery. Holy scripture qualifieth the officers, and sheweth what manner of men they should be, and of what qualities, *viros fortes*, some translations have, *viros sapientes*, "wise men;" the English translation hath it very well, "men of activity," that have stomachs to do their office: they must not be milksops, nor white-livered knights; they must be wise, hearty, hardy, men of a good stomach. Secondarily, he qualifieth them with the fear of God: he saith they must be *timentes Deum*, "fearing God." For if he fear God, he shall be no briber, no perverter of judgment, faithful. Thirdly, they must be chosen officers, *in quibus est veritas*, "in whom is truth;" if he say it, it shall be done. Fourthly, *qui oderunt avaritiam*, "hating covetousness:" far from it; he will not come near it that hateth it. It is not he that will give five hundred pound for an office. With these qualities God's wisdom would have magistrates to be qualified.

This cometh from the devil's consistory, to pay five hundred pound for one office. If they pay so much, it must needs follow that they take bribes, that they be bribe-takers. Such as be meet to bear office, seek them out, hire them, give them competent and liberal fees, that they shall not need to take any bribes. And if ye be a selling civil offices, ye are as they which sell their benefices; and so we shall have *omnia venalia*, all things bought for money. I marvel the ground gapes not and devours us: howbeit, we ought not to marvel; surely it is the great lenity of God that suffers it. O Lord, in what case are we! If the great men in Turky should use in their religion of Mahomet to sell, as our patrons commonly sell benefices here, the office of preaching, the office of salvation, it should be taken as an intolerable thing; the Turk would not suffer it in his commonwealth. Patrons be

charged to see the office done, and not to seek a lucre and a gain by their patronship. There was a patron in England, when it was that he had a benefice fallen into his hand, and a good brother of mine came unto him, and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them his man to carry them to his master. It is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game, and so there was thirty-one. This man cometh to his master, and presented him with the dish of apples, saying, "Sir, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruit, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice." "Tush, tush," quoth he, "this is no apple matter; I will have none of his apples; I have as good as these, or as he hath any, in mine own orchard." The man came to the priest again, and told him what his master said. "Then," quoth the priest, "desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake; he shall find them much better than they look for." He cut one of them, and found ten pieces of gold in it. "Marry," quoth he, "this is a good apple." The priest standing not far off, hearing what the gentleman said, cried out and answered, "They are all one apple, I warrant you, sir; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste." "Well, he is a good fellow, let him have it," quoth the patron. Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it will stand you in better stead than all St Paul's learning. Well, let patrons take heed; for they shall answer for all the souls that perish through their default. There is a saying, that there be a great many in England that say there is no soul, that believe not in the immortality of man's soul, that think it is not eternal, but like a dog's soul, that think there is neither heaven or hell. O Lord, what a weighty matter is this! What a lamentable thing in a christian commonwealth! I cannot tell what they say; but I perceive by these works that they think so, or else they would never do as they do. These sellers of offices shew that they believe that there is neither hell nor heaven: it is taken for a laughing matter.

Well, I will go on. Now to the chapter. The children of Israel came to Samuel, and said, *Senuisti;* "Thou art grown into age, give us a king; thy sons walk not in thy ways." What a heaviness was this to father Samuel's heart, to hear that his sons, whom he had so well brought up, should swerve from his ways that he had walked in! Father Samuel goeth to God, to know his will and pleasure in this matter. God answered, "Let them have a king; they have

not cast thee away, but me, that I should not reign over them." This is their ground, that say a king is an odious thing, and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violate this place, to make it for their purpose; where no such thing is meant. "Shew the Israelites," saith God, "and testify to them a king's authority, and what a king is, and what a king will do. If that will not persuade them, I will not hear them hereafter when they shall cry unto me."

I must needs confess that the Jews trespassed against God in asking a king; but here is the matter, in what thing their offence stood, whether absolutely in asking a king, or in any other circumstance. It was in a circumstance: they said not, Ask us a king of God; but, Make us a king to judge us, as all other nations have. They would have a king of their own swing, and of their own election, as though they passed not of God. In another point there was pride; they would be like the heathen, and judged under kings, as they were. Thirdly, they offended God, because they asked a king to the injury and wrong of good father Samuel, to depose him; so this was a wrong toward Samuel. It was not with Samuel and his children, Idel and Abia, like as with Eli and his children, Ophnia and Phinees. They were cruel, who with hooks taking the flesh out of the pots, when that sacrifice was offered to God, brought the people into a contempt of God's word. They were lecherers; their sin was manifestly and notoriously known: but their father Eli, knowing and hearing of it, did blame them, but nothing to the purpose; he did not earnestly and substantially chastise them, and therefore he was justly deposed of God. The sins of Samuel's sons were not known; they were not so notorious: wherefore it was not with father Samuel as it was with Eli; his sons' faults were taking of bribes, and perverting of judgments. Ye know that bribery is a secret fault, and therefore it was not known: it was done under a colour and a pretence of justice, hiddenly and covertly done: therefore because it stood in bribes, it was not like in Samuel as in Eli. It is a dangerous thing to be in office; for *qui attingit picem coinquinabitur ab ea;* "He that meddleth with pitch is like to be spotted with it." Bribes may be assembled [1] to pitch; for even as pitch doth pollute their hands that meddle with it, so bribes will bring you to perverting of

[1] assimilated.

justice. Beware of pitch, you judges of the world; bribes will make you pervert justice. "Why," you will say, "we touch none." No, marry, but my mistress your wife hath a fine finger, she toucheth it for you: or else you have a servant, *a muneribus;* he will say, "If you will come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shall speed never the worse; but I think my master will take none." When he hath offered them to the master, then comes another servant and says, "If you will bring them to the clerk of the kitchen, you shall be remembered the better." This is a friarly fashion, that will receive no money in their hands, but will have it put upon their sleeves; a goodly rag of popish religion. They be like Gray Friars, that will not be seen to receive bribes themselves, but have others to receive for them.

Though Samuel's sons were privy bribers, and kept the thing very close, yet the cry of the people brought it to Samuel. It was a hid kind of sin: for men in this point would face it, and brazen it, and make a shew of upright dealing, when they be most guilty. Nevertheless, this gear came out. O wicked sons, that brought both their father to deposition, and themselves to shame! When Samuel heard of their fault, he went not about to excuse their faults: he would not bear with his sons, he would not *communicare peccatis alienis*, be partaker with his sons' offences: he said, *Ego senui, ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.* As soon as he heard of it, he delivered his sons to the people to be punished. He went not about to excuse them, nor said not, "This is the first time, bear with them;" but presented them by and by to the people, saying, "Lo, here they be, take them, do with them according to their deserts." Oh, I would there were no more bearers of other men's sins than this good father Samuel was!

I heard of late of a notable bloodshed: "*Audio,*" saith St Paul; and so do I: I know it not, but I hear of it. There was a searcher in London which, executing his office, displeased a merchantman, insomuch that when he was doing his office they were at words: the merchantman threatened him; the searcher said the king should not lose his custom. The merchant goes me home, and sharpens his wood-knife, and comes again and knocks him on the head, and kills him. They that told me the tale say it is winked at; they look through their fingers, and will not see it. Whether it be taken up with a pardon, or no, I cannot tell; but this I am

sure, and if ye bear with such matters, the devil shall bear you away to hell. Bloodshed and murder would have no bearing. It is a heinous thing bloodshedding, and especially voluntary murder and prepensed murder. For in Numbers God saith, it polluteth the whole realm: *Polluitur illa terra*, &c., *et non potest expiari sine sanguine;* "The land cannot be purified nor cleansed again, till his blood be shed that shed it." It is the office of a king to see such murderers punished with death; for *non frustra gestat gladium.* What will you make of a king? He beareth a sword before him, not a peacock's feather. I go not about to stir you now to cruelty; but I speak against the bearing of bloodshed: this bearing must be looked upon. In certain causes of murder such great circumstances may be, that the king may pardon a murder. But if I were worthy to be of counsel, or if I were asked mine advice, I would not have the king to pardon a voluntary murder, a prepensed murder.

I can tell where one man slew another in a township, and was attached upon the same: twelve men were impanelled: the man had friends: the sheriff laboured the bench: the twelve men stuck at it, and said, "Except he would disburse twelve crowns, they would find him guilty." Means were found that the twelve crowns were paid. The quest comes in, and says "Not guilty." Here was "not guilty" for twelve crowns. This is a bearing, and if some of the bench were hanged, they were well served. This makes men bold to do murder and slaughter. We should reserve murdering till we come to our enemies, and the king bid us fight: he that would bestir him then were a pretty fellow indeed. Crowns! if their crowns were shaven to the shoulders, they were served well enough.

I know where a woman was got with child, and was ashamed at the matter, and went into a secret place, where she had no woman at her travail, and was delivered of three children at a birth. She wrung their necks, and cast them into a water, and so killed her children: suddenly she was gaunt again; and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she granted all. Afterward she was arraigned at the bar for it, and despatched and found not guilty, through bearing of friends, and bribing of the judge: where, at the same sessions, another poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off a hedge that were not worth a crown.

There was a certain gentleman, a professor of the word of God, (he sped never the better for that, ye may be sure,) who was accused for murdering of a man, whereupon he was cast into prison; and by chance, as he was in prison, one of his friends came unto him for to visit him; and he declared to his friend that he was never guilty in the murdering of the man: so he went his ways. The gentleman was arraigned and condemned; and as he went to his execution, he saw his friend's servant, and said unto him, "Commend me to thy master, and I pray thee tell him, I am the same man still I was when he was with me; and if thou tarry awhile, thou shalt see me die." There was suit made for this man's pardon, but it could not be gotten. Belike the sheriffs or some other bare him no good will: but he died for it. And afterward, I being in the Tower, having leave to come to the lieutenant's table, I heard him say, that there was a man hanged afterward that killed the same man for whom this gentleman was put to death. O Lord, what bearing, what bolstering of naughty matters is this in a christian realm! I desire your Majesty to remedy the matter, and God grant you to see redress in this realm in your own person. Although my lord Protector, I doubt not, and the rest of the council do, in the mean while, all that lieth in them to redress things; I would such as be rulers, noblemen, and masters, should be at this point with their servants, to certify them on this sort: If any man go about to do you wrong, I will do my best to help you in your right; but if ye break the law, ye shall have justice. If ye will be man-quellers, murderers, and transgressors, look for no bearing at my hands. A strange thing! What need we in the vengeance to burden ourselves with other men's sins? Have we not sins enow of our own? What need have I to burden myself with other men's sins? I have burdens and two heaps of sins, one heap of known sins, another of unknown sins. I had need to say, *Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine;* "O Lord, deliver me from my hidden and my unknown sins." Then if I bear with other men's sins, I must say: Deliver me from my other men's sins. A strange saying: from my other men's sins! Who beareth with other folks' offences, he communicateth with other folks' sins. Men have sins enough of their own, although they bear not and bolster up other men in their naughtiness. This bearing, this bolstering, and looking through their fingers, is naught. What the fair hap

should I, or any else, increase my burden? My other men's sins forgive me, O Lord: a strange language! they have hid sins of their own enough, although they bear not with guiltiness of other men's sins.

Oh, father Samuel would not bear his own sons; he offered his own sons to punishment, and said, *Ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt:* even at the first time he said, "Lo, here they be: I discharge myself; take them unto you: and as for my part, *Præsto sum loqui coram Domino et Christo ejus;* I am here ready to answer for myself before the Lord, and his anointed. Behold, here I am, record of me before the Lord, *utrum cujusquam bovem*, &c., whether I have taken any man's ox, any man's ass, or whether I have done any man wrong, or hurt any man, or taken any bribes at any man's hand." I can commend the English translation, that doth interpret *munera*, bribes, not gifts. They answered, "Nay, forsooth, we know no such things in you." *Testis est mihi Deus*, saith he, "God is witness," *quod nihil inveneritis in manu mea*, "that you have found nought in my hands." Few such Samuels are in England, nor in the world. Why did Samuel this? Marry, to purge himself; he was enforced to it, for he was wrongly deposed.

Then by this ye may perceive the fault of the Jews, for they offended not God in asking of a king, but in asking for a king to the wronging and deposition of good father Samuel. If after Samuel's death the people had asked of God a king, they had not faulted: but it is no small fault to put an innocent out of his office. King David likewise commanded his people to be numbered, and therewith offended God grievously. Why, might he not know the number of his people? Yes, it was not the numbering of the people that offended God, for a king may number his people; but he did it of a pride, of an elation of mind, not according to God's ordinance, but as having a trust in the number of his men: this offended God. Likewise the Jews asked a king, and therewith they offended not God, but they asked him with such circumstances, that God was offended with them. It is no small fault to put a just man out of his office, and to depose him unworthily. To choose a king contrarying the ordinance of God, is a casting away of God, and not of a king. Therefore doubt not but the title of a king is a lawful thing, is a lawful title, as of other magistrates. Only let the kings take heed that they do as it becometh kings to do,

that they do their office well. It is a great thing, a chargeable thing. Let them beware that they do not *communicare peccatis alienis*, that they bear not with other men's faults; for they shall give a strait account for all that perisheth through their negligence. We perceive now what this text meaneth. It is written in the last of Judges, *In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel:* "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes." Men were then allowed to do what they would. When men may be allowed to do what they will, then it is as good to have no king at all. Here is a wonderful matter, that unpreaching prelates should be suffered so long. They can allege for themselves seven hundred years. This while the realm had been as good to have no king. Likewise these bribing judges have been suffered of a long time: and then it was *quasi non fuisset rex in Anglia*. To suffer this is as much as to say, "There is no king in England." It is the duty of a king to have all states set in order to do their office.

I have troubled you too long, I will make an end. "Blessed be they that hear the word of God," but so that they follow it, and keep it in credit, in memory, not to deprave it and slander it, and bring the preachers out of credit, but that follow it in their life and live after it. He grant you all that blessing, that made both you and me! *Amen.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

The Sixth Sermon preached before King Edward, April twelfth, 1549.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.—ROM. xv. 4.
All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

WHAT doctrine is written for us in the eighth chapter of the first book of the Kings, I did partly shew unto you, most honourable audience, this day sennight, of that good man, father Samuel, that good judge, how good a man he was, what helpers and coadjutors he took unto him, to have his office well discharged. I told you also of the wickedness of his sons, how they took bribes, and lived wickedly, and by that means brought both their father and themselves to deposition; and how the people did offend God, in asking a king in father Samuel's time; and how father Samuel was put from his office, who deserved it not. I opened to you also, how father Samuel cleared himself, that he knew not the faults of his sons; he was no bearer with his sons, he was sorry for it, when he heard it, but he would not bear with them in their wickedness: *filii mei vobiscum sunt;* "My sons are with you," saith he, "do with them according to their deserts. I will not maintain them, nor bear with them." After that, he clears himself at the king's feet, that the people had nothing to burthen him withal, neither money, nor money worth. In treating of that part I chanced to shew you what I heard of a man that was slain, and I hear say it was not well taken. Forsooth, I intended not to impair any man's estimation or honesty, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meaning. I said I heard but of such a thing, and took occasion by that that I heard to speak against the thing that I knew to be naught, that no man should bear with any man to the maintenance of voluntary and prepensed murder.

And I hear say since, the man was otherwise an honest man, and they that spake for him are honest men. I am inclinable enough to credit it. I spake not because I would have any man's honesty impaired. Only I did, as St Paul did, who hearing of the Corinthians, that there should be contentions and misorder among them, did write unto them that he heard; and thereupon, by occasion of hearing, he set forth the very wholesome doctrine of the Supper of the Lord. We might not have lacked that doctrine, I tell you. Be it so, the Corinthians had no such contentions among them, as Paul wrote of; be it so, they had not misordered themselves: it was neither off nor on to that that Paul said: the matter lay in that, that upon hearing he would take occasion to set out the good and true doctrine. So I did not affirm it to be true that I heard; I spake it to advertise you to beware of bearing with wilful and prepensed murder. I would have nothing enforced against any man: this was mine intent and meaning. I do not know what ye call chance-medley in the law; it is not for my study. I am a scholar in scripture, in God's book; I study that. I know what voluntary murder is before God: if I shall fall out with a man, he is angry with me, and I with him, and lacking opportunity and place, we shall put it off for that time; in the mean season I prepare my weapon, and sharp it against another time; I swell and boil in this passion towards him; I seek him, we meddle together; it is my chance, by reason my weapon is better than his, and so forth, to kill him; I give him his death-stroke in my vengeance and anger: this call I voluntary murder in scripture; what it is in the law, I cannot tell. It is a great sin, and therefore I call it voluntary. I remember what a great clerk writeth of this: *Omne peccatum adeo est voluntarium, ut nisi sit voluntarium non sit peccatum:* "Every sin," saith he, "is so voluntary, that if it be not voluntary, it cannot be called sin." Sin is no actual sin, if it be not voluntary. I would we would all know our faults and repent: that that is done, is done; it cannot be called back again. God is merciful, the king is merciful: here we may repent, this is the place of repentance; when we are gone hence, it is too late then to repent. And let us be content with such order as the magistrates shall take: but sure it is a perilous thing to bear with any such matter. I told you what I heard say; I would have no man's honesty impaired by my telling. I heard say since of another murder, that a

Spaniard should kill an Englishman, and run him through with his sword; they say he was a tall man: but I hear not that the Spaniard was hanged for his labour; if I had, I would have told you it too. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days, as I hear by the relation of honest men, which tell it not after a worldly sort, as though they rejoiced at it, but heavily, with heavy hearts, how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London; yea, the Bank,[1] when it stood, was never so common! If it be true that is told, it is marvel that it doth not sink, and that the earth gapeth not and swalloweth it up. It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom unpunished. God hath suffered long of his great lenity, mercy, and benignity; but he will punish sharply at the length, if we do not repent. There is some place in London,[2] as they say, "Immunity, impunity:" what should I call it? A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there, the sheriffs they cannot meddle with it; and the quest they do not inquire of it: and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it.

There be such dicing houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also. For the love of God let remedy be had, let us wrestle and strive against sin. Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves, (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise,) they were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into glossing, gulling, and whoring within the house. The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm: it is a gift of God that he hath given us to excel all other nations withal: it hath been God's instrument, whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies: but now we have taken up whoring in towns, instead of shooting in the fields. A wondrous thing, that so excellent a gift of God should be so little esteemed! I desire you, my lords, even as ye love the honour and glory of God, and intend to remove his indignation, let there be sent forth some

[1] The Bank-side in Southwark.

[2] The precinct of St Martin-le-Grand, originally a sanctuary, and which retained its extra-civic immunity, and was regarded as "a privileged place," long after sanctuaries had been suppressed.

proclamation, some sharp proclamation to the justices of peace, for they do not their duty: justices now be no justices. There be many good acts made for this matter already. Charge them upon their allegiance, that this singular benefit of God may be practised, and that it be not turned into bowling, glossing, and whoring within the towns; for they be negligent in executing these laws of shooting. In my time my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing; and so I think other men did their children: he taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as other nations do, but with strength of the body: I had my bows bought me, according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger; for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it: it is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physic.

Marcilius Phicinus, in his book *De triplici vita*, (it is a great while since I read him now,) but I remember he commendeth this kind of exercise, and saith, that it wrestleth against many kinds of diseases. In the reverence of God let it be continued; let a proclamation go forth, charging the justices of peace, that they see such acts and statutes kept as were made for this purpose.

I will to my matter. I intend this day to entreat of a piece of scripture written in the beginning of the fifth chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take this place by a book sent to the king's majesty that dead is by master Pole. It is a text that he doth greatly abuse for the supremacy: he racks it, and violates it, to serve for the maintenance of the bishop of Rome. And as he did enforce the other place, that I entreated of last, so did he enforce this also, to serve his matter. The story is this: our Saviour Christ was come now to the bank of the water of Genezareth. The people were come to him, and flocked about him to hear him preach. And Jesus took a boat that was standing at the pool, (it was Simon's boat,) and went into it. And sitting in the boat, he preached to them that were on the bank. And when he had preached and taught them, he spake to Simon, and bade him launch out further into the deep, and loose his nets to catch fish. And Simon made answer and said, "Master, we have laboured all night, but we caught nothing: howbeit, at thy commandment, because thou biddest us, we will go to it

again." And so they did, and caught a great draught, a miraculous draught, so much that the net brake; and they called to their fellows that were by (for they had two boats) to come to help them; and they came, and filled both their boats so full, that they were nigh drowning.

This is the story. That I may declare this text so that it may be to the honour of God, and edification of your souls and mine both, I shall desire you to help me with your prayer, in the which, &c.

Factum est autem (saith the text) *cum turba irrueret in eum.* St Luke tells the story, "And it came to pass, when the people pressed upon him, so that he was in peril to be cast into the pond, they rushed so fast upon him, and made such throng to him." A wondrous thing: what a desire the people had in those days to hear our Saviour Christ preach! And the cause may be gathered of the latter end of the chapter that went before. Our Saviour Christ had preached unto them, and healed the sick folks of such diseases and maladies as they had, and therefore the people would have retained him still: but he made them answer, and said, *Et aliis civitatibus oportet me evangelizare regnum Dei, nam in hoc missus sum:* "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: I must show them my Father's will, for I came for that purpose: I was sent to preach the word of God." Our Saviour Christ said, how he must not tarry in one place: for he was sent to the world, to preach everywhere. Is it not a marvellous thing, that our unpreaching prelates can read this place, and yet preach no more than they do? I marvel that they can go quietly to bed, and see how he allureth them with his example to be diligent in their office. Here is a godly lesson also, how our Saviour Christ fled from glory. If these ambitious persons, that climb to honour by by-walks inordinately, would consider this example of Jesus Christ, they should come to more honour than they do; for when they seek honour by such by-walks, they come to confusion. Honour followeth them that flee from it. Our Saviour Christ gat him away early in the morning, and went unto the wilderness. I would they would follow this example of Christ, and not seek honour by such by-walks as they do. But what did the people, when he had hid himself? They smelled him out in the wilderness, and came unto him by flocks, and followed him a great number. But where read you that a great number of scribes and Pharisees and bishops

followed him? There is a doctor that writeth of this place; his name is doctor Gorrham, Nicholas Gorrham: I knew him to be a school-doctor a great while ago, but I never knew him to be an interpreter of scripture till now of late: he saith thus: *Major devotio in laicis vetulis quam in clericis, &c.*, "There is more devotion," saith he, "in lay-folk, and old wives, these simple folk, the vulgar people, than in the clerks:" they be better affected to the word of God than those that be of the clergy. I marvel not at the sentence, but I marvel to find such a sentence in such a doctor. If I should say so much, it would be said to me, that it is an evil bird that defiles his own nest; and, *nemo læditur nisi a seipso*, "there is no man hurt but of his ownself." There was verified the saying of our Saviour Christ, which he spake in another place: *Ubicunque fuerit cadaver, ibi congregabuntur aquilæ*; "Wheresoever a dead carrion is, thither will the eagles gather." Our Saviour Christ compares himself to a dead carrion; for where the carrion is, there will the eagles be: and though it be an evil smell to us, and stinks in a man's nose, yet it is a sweet smell to the eagles; they will seek it out. So the people sought out Christ, they smelt his savour; he was a sweet smell to them. He is *odor vitæ ad vitam*, "the smell of life to life." They flocked about him like eagles. Christ was the carrion, and the people were the eagles. They had no pleasure to hear the scribes and the Pharisees; they stank in their nose; their doctrine was unsavoury; it was of lolions, of decimations of aniseed and cummin, and such gear. There was no comfort in it for sore consciences; there was no consolation for wounded souls; there was no remedy for sins, as was in Christ's doctrine. His doctrine eased the burden of the soul; it was sweet to the common people, and sour to the scribes. It was such comfort and pleasure to them, that they came flocking about him. Wherefore came they? *Ut audirent verbum Dei.* It was a good coming; they came to hear the word of God. It was not to be thought that they came all of one mind to hear the word of God: it is likely, that in so great a multitude some came of curiosity, to hear some novels; and some came smelling a sweet savour, to have consolation and comfort of God's word: for we cannot be saved without hearing of the word; it is a necessary way to salvation. We cannot be saved without faith, and faith cometh by hearing of the word. *Fides ex auditu.* "And how shall they hear without a

preacher?" I tell you it is the footstep of the ladder of heaven, of our salvation. There must be preachers, if we look to be saved. I told you of this gradation before, in the tenth to the Romans: consider it well. I had rather ye should come of a naughty mind to hear the word of God for novelty, or for curiosity to hear some pastime, than to be away. I had rather ye should come as the tale is by the gentlewoman of London: one of her neighbours met her in the street, and said, "Mistress, whither go ye?" "Marry," said she, "I am going to St Thomas of Acres to the sermon; I could not sleep all this last night, and I am going now thither; I never failed of a good nap there." And so I had rather ye should go a napping to the sermons, than not to go at all. For with what mind soever ye come, though ye come for an ill purpose, yet peradventure ye may chance to be caught or ye go; the preacher may chance to catch you on his hook. Rather than ye should not come at all, I would have you come of curiosity, as St Augustine came to hear St Ambrose. When St Augustine came to Milan, (he tells the story himself, in the end of his fifth book of Confessions,) he was very desirous to hear St Ambrose, not for any love he had to the doctrine that he taught, but to hear his eloquence, whether it was so great as the speech was, and as the bruit went. Well, before he departed, St Ambrose caught him on his hook, and converted him, so that he became of a Manichee, and of a Platonist, a good Christian, a defender of Christ's religion and of the faith afterward So I would have you to come to sermons. It is declared in many places of scripture, how necessary preaching is; as this, *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti;* "The preaching of the gospel is the power of God to every man that doth believe." He means God's word opened: it is the instrument, and the thing whereby we are saved.

Beware, beware, ye diminish not this office; for if ye do, ye decay God's power to all that do believe. Christ saith, consonant to the same, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit e supernis, non potest videre regnum Dei:* "Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God." He must have a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, as these firebrands expound it, and nothing else. How is it to be expounded then? St Peter sheweth that one place of scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance, and collation of places, that

makes scripture plain. *Regeneramur autem*, saith St Peter, "and we be born again:" how? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortali*, "Not by a mortal seed, but by an immortal." What is this immortal seed? *Per sermonem Dei viventis:* "By the word of the living God;" by the word of God preached and opened. Thus cometh in our new birth.

Here you may see how necessary this office is to our salvation. This is the thing that the devil wrestleth most against: it hath been all his study to decay this office. He worketh against it as much as he can: he hath prevailed too much, too much in it. He hath set up a state of unpreaching prelacy in this realm this seven hundred year; a stately unpreaching prelacy. He hath made unpreaching prelates; he hath stirred up by heaps to persecute this office in the title of heresy. He hath stirred up the magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedition, and he hath stirred up the people to persecute it with exprobations and slanderous words, as by the name of "new learning," "strange preaching;" and with impropriations he hath turned preaching into private masses. If a priest should have left mass undone on a Sunday within these ten years, all England should have wondered at it; but they might have left off the sermon twenty Sundays, and never have been blamed. And thus by these impropriations private masses were set up, and preaching of God's word trodden under foot. But what doth he now? What doth he now? He stirs men up to outrageous rearing of rents, that poor men shall not be able to find their children at the school to be divines. What an unreasonable devil is this! He provides a great while beforehand for the time that is to come: he hath brought up now of late the most monstrous kind of covetousness that ever was heard of: he hath invented fee-farming of benefices, and all to decay this office of preaching; insomuch that, when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will, for any house he shall have to dwell upon, or any glebe-land to keep hospitality withal; but he must take up a chamber in an alehouse, and there sit and play at the tables all the day. A goodly curate! He hath caused also, through this monstrous kind of covetousness, patrons to sell their benefices: yea what doth he more? He gets him to the university, and causeth great men and esquires to send their sons thither, and put out poor scholars that should be divines; for their parents intend not that they shall be preachers, but that they may have a

shew of learning. But it were too long to declare unto you what deceit and means the devil hath found to decay the office of salvation, this office of regeneration.

But to return to my matter. The people came to hear the word of God: they heard him with silence. I remember now a saying of St Chrysostom, and peradventure it might come hereafter in better place, but yet I will take it whilst it cometh to mind: the saying is this, *Et loquentem eum audierunt in silentio, seriem locutionis non interrumpentes:* "They heard him," saith he, "in silence, not interrupting the order of his preaching." He means, they heard him quietly, without any shovelling of feet, or walking up and down. Surely it is an ill misorder that folk shall be walking up and down in the sermon-time, as I have seen in this place this Lent: and there shall be such huzzing and buzzing in the preacher's ear, that it maketh him oftentimes to forget his matter. O let us consider the king's majesty's goodness! This place was prepared for banqueting of the body; and his Majesty hath made it a place for the comfort of the soul, and to have the word of God preached in it; shewing hereby that he would have all his subjects at it, if it might be possible. Consider what the king's majesty hath done for you; he alloweth you all to hear with him. Consider where ye be. First, ye ought to have a reverence to God's word; and though it be preached by poor men, yet it is the same word that our Saviour spake. Consider also the presence of the king's majesty, God's high vicar in earth, having a respect to his personage. Ye ought to have reverence to it, and consider that he is God's high minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of the hearing of God's word. This benefit of his would be thankfully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Hear in silence, as Chrysostom saith. It may chance that some in the company may fall sick or be diseased; if there be any such, let them go away with silence; let them leave their salutations till they come in the court, let them depart with silence. I took occasion of Chrysostom's words to admonish you of this thing.

What should be the cause that our Saviour Christ went into the boat? The scripture calleth it *navis* or *navicula*, but it was no ship, it was a fisher's boat; they were not able to have a ship. What should be the cause why he would not stand on the bank and preach there, but he desired Peter to draw the boat somewhat from the shore into the midst of

the water: what should be the cause? One cause was, for that he might sit there more commodiously than on the bank: another cause was, for that he was like to be thrust into the pond of the people that came unto him. Why, our Saviour Christ might have withstood them, he was strong enough to have kept himself from thrusting into the water: he was stronger than they all, and if he had listed he might have stood on the water, as well as he walked on the water. Truth it is, so might he have done indeed. But as it was sometime his pleasure to show the power of his Godhead, so he declared now the infirmity and imbecility of his manhood.

Here he giveth us an example what shall we do: we must not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walk by ordinary ways. As our Saviour Christ, when the devil had him on the top of the temple, and would have had him cast himself down, he made him this answer, *Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum*, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God:" as if he should have said, we may not tempt God at all. It is no time now to shew any miracles: there is another way to go down by greesings. Thus he did shew us an example, that we must not tempt God, except it be in extreme necessity, and when we cannot otherwise remedy the matter, to leave it all to God, else we may not tempt the majesty of his Deity: beware tempting of God.

Well, he comes to Simon's boat, and why rather to Simon's boat than another? I will answer, as I find by experience in myself. I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry; and when I came to take boat, the watermen came about me, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he would have me: I took one of them. Now ye will ask me, why I came in that boat rather than in another? Because I would go into that that I see stand next me; it stood more commodiously for me. And so did Christ by Simon's boat: it stood nearer for him, he saw a better seat in it. A good natural reason. Now come the papists, and they will make a mystery of it: they will pick out the supremacy of the bishop of Rome in Peter's boat. We may make allegories enough of every place in scripture: but surely it must needs be a simple matter that standeth on so weak a ground. But ye shall see further: he desired Peter to thrust out his boat from the shore. He desired him. Here was a good lesson for the bishop of Rome, and all his college of cardinals, to learn humility and gentleness. *Rogabat eum.* He desired him:

it was gently done of him, not with any austerity, but with all urbanity, mildness, and softness, and humility. What an example is this that he giveth them here! But they spy it not, they can see nothing but the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. A wondrous thing, what sight they have; they see nothing but the supremacy of the bishop of Rome! *Imperabatis ovibus meis*, saith Ezekiel, *cum avaritia et austeritate, et dispersæ sunt absque pastore;* "Ye have ruled my sheep, and commanded them with great lordliness, austerity, and power; and thus ye have dispersed my sheep abroad." And why? There was no shepherd, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath been many a hundred years without a good shepherd. They would not learn to rule them gently; they had rule over them, but it was with cursings, excommunications, with great austerity and thunderbolts, and the devil and all, to maintain their unpreaching prelacy. I beseech God open their eyes, that they may see the truth, and not be blinded with those things that no man can see but they!

It followeth in the text, *Sedens docebat de navi:* "He taught sitting." Preachers, belike, were sitters in those days, as it is written in another place, *Sedent in cathedra Mosis*, "They sit in the chair of Moses." I would our preachers would preach sitting or standing, one way or other. It was a godly pulpit that our Saviour Christ had gotten him here; an old rotten boat, and yet he preached his Father's will, his Father's message out of this pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he might do the people good. Indeed it is to be commended for the preacher to stand or sit, as the place is; but I would not have it so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare the word of God sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tree. And yet if this should be done, the unpreaching prelates would laugh it to scorn. And though it be good to have the pulpit set up in churches, that the people may resort thither, yet I would not have it so superstitiously used, but that in a profane place the word of God might be preached sometimes; and I would not have the people offended withal, no more than they be with our Saviour Christ's preaching out of a boat. And yet to have pulpits in churches, it is very well done to have them, but they would be occupied; for it is a vain thing to have them as they stand in many churches.

I heard of a bishop of England that went on visitation,

and as it was the custom, when the bishop should come, and be rung into the town, the great bell's clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, so that the bishop could not be rung into the town. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the parish were much blamed for it in the visitation. The bishop was somewhat quick with them, and signified that he was much offended. They made their answers, and excused themselves as well as they could: "It was a chance," said they, "that the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended by and by; we must tarry till we can have it done: it shall be amended as shortly as may be." Among the other, there was one wiser than the rest, and he comes me to the bishop: "Why, my lord," saith he, "doth your lordship make so great a matter of the bell that lacketh his clapper? Here is a bell," said he, and pointed to the pulpit, "that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a parson that fetcheth out of this benefice fifty pound every year, but we never see him." I warrant you, the bishop was an unpreaching prelate. He could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into the town, but he could not find any fault with the parson that preached not at his benefice. Ever this office of preaching hath been least regarded, it hath scant had the name of God's service. They must sing "*Salve festa dies*" about the church, that no man was the better for it, but to shew their gay coats and garments.

I came once myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holiday; and methought it was an holiday's work. The church stood in my way, and I took my horse and my company, and went thither. I thought I should have found a great company in the church, and when I came there the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more: at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says, "Sir, this is a busy day with us, we cannot hear you; it is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood: I pray you let them not." I was fain there to give place to Robin Hood: I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not; but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men. It is no laughing matter, my friends, it is a weeping matter, a heavy matter; a heavy matter, under the pretence of gathering for Robin Hood, a traitor and a thief,

to put out a preacher, to have his office less esteemed; to prefer Robin Hood before the ministration of God's word: and all this hath come of unpreaching prelates. This realm hath been ill provided for, that it hath had such corrupt judgments in it, to prefer Robin Hood to God's word. If the bishops had been preachers, there should never have been any such thing: but we have good hope of better. We have had a good beginning: I beseech God to continue it! But I tell you, it is far wide that the people have such judgments; the bishops they could laugh at it. What was that to them? They would have them to continue in their ignorance still, and themselves in unpreaching prelacy.

Well, sitting, sitting: "He sat down and taught." The text doth tell us that he taught, but it doth not tell us what he taught. If I were a papist, I could tell what he said; I would, in the Pope's judgment, shew what he taught. For the bishop of Rome hath in *scrinio pectoris sui* the true understanding of scriptures. If he call a council, the college of cardinals, he hath authority to determine the supper of the Lord, as he did at the council of Florence! And Pope Nicholas, and bishop Lanfrank, shall come and expound this place, and say, that our Saviour Christ said thus: "Peter, I do mean this by sitting in thy boat, that thou shalt go to Rome, and be bishop there five-and-twenty years after mine ascension; and all thy successors shall be rulers of the universal church after thee."

Here would I place also holy water, and holy bread, and all unwritten verities, if I were a papist; and, that scripture is not to be expounded by any private interpretation, but by our holy father and his college of cardinals. This is a great deal better place than *Duc in altum*, "Launch into the deep." But what was Christ's sermon? It may soon be gathered what it was. He is always like himself. His first sermon was, *Pœnitentiam agite;* "Do penance; your living is naught; repent." Again, at Nazareth, when he read in the temple, and preached remission of sins, and healing of wounded consciences; and in the long sermon in the mount, he was always like himself, he never dissented from himself.

Oh, there is a writer hath a jolly text here, and his name is Dionysius. I chanced to meet with his book in my lord of Canterbury's library: he was a monk of the Charterhouse. I marvel to find such a sentence in that author. What

taught Christ in this sermon? Marry, saith he, it is not written. And he addeth more unto it; *Evangelistæ tantum scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis Christi quantum cognoverunt, inspirante Deo, sufficere ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem animarum.* It is true, it is not written; all his miracles were not written, so neither were all his sermons written: yet for all that, the evangelists did write so much as was necessary. "They wrote so much of the miracles and sermons of Christ as they knew by God's inspiration to be sufficient for the edifying of the church, the confirmation of our faith, and the health of our souls." If this be true, as it is indeed, where be unwritten verities? I marvel not at the sentence, but to find it in such an author. Jesus! what authority he gives to God's word! But God would that such men should be witness with the authority of his book, will they, nill they. Now to draw towards an end.

It followeth in the text, *Duc in altum.* Here cometh in the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. When our Saviour Christ had made an end of his sermon, and had fed their souls, he provided for their bodies. First, he began with the soul: Christ's word is the food of it. Now he goeth to the body. He hath charge of them both: we must commit the feeding of the body and of the soul to him. Well, he saith to Peter, *Duc in altum*, "Launch into the depth; put forth thy boat farther into the deep of the water; loose your nets; now fish." As who would say, "Your souls are now fed, I have taught you my doctrine; now I will confirm it with a miracle." Lo, sir, here is *Duc in altum:* here Peter was made a great man, say the papists, and all his successors after him. And this is derived of these few words, "Launch into the deep." And their argument is this: he spake to Peter only, and he spake to him in the singular number; *ergo* he gave him such a pre-eminence above the rest. A goodly argument! I ween it be a syllogismus, *in quem terra, pontus.* I will make a like argument. Our Saviour Christ said to Judas, when he was about to betray him, *Quod facis fac citius*, "What thou doest, do quickly." Now when he spake to Peter, there were none of his disciples by but James and John; but when he spake to Judas, they were all present. Well, he said unto him, *Quod facis fac citius*, "Speed thy business that thou hast in thy head, do it." He gave him here a secret monition, that he knew what he intended, if Judas had had grace

to have taken it, and repented. He spake in the singular number to him; *ergo* he gave him some pre-eminence. Belike he made him a cardinal; and it might full well be, for they have followed Judas ever since. Here is as good a ground for the college of cardinals, as the other is for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. "Our Saviour Christ," say they, "spake only to Peter for pre-eminence, because he was chief of the apostles, and you can shew none other cause; *ergo* this is the cause why he spake to him in the singular number." I dare say there is never a wherryman at Westminster-bridge but he can answer to this, and give a natural reason of it. He knoweth that one man is able to shove the boat, but one man was not able to cast out the nets; and therefore he said in the plural number, *Laxate retia*, "Loose your nets;" and he said in the singular number to Peter, "Launch out the boat." Why? Because he was able to do it. But he spake the other in the plural number, because he was not able to convey the boat, and cast out the nets too: one man could not do it. This would the wherryman say, and that with better reason, than to make such a mystery of it, as no man can spy but they. And the cause why he spake to all was to shew that he will have all christian men to work for their living. It is he that sends food both for the body and soul, but he will not send it without labour. He will have all christian people to labour for it; he will use our labour as a mean whereby he sendeth our food.

This was a wondrous miracle of our Saviour Christ, and he did it not only to allure them to his discipleship, but also for our commodity. It was a seal, a seal to seal his doctrine withal. Now ye know that such as be keepers of seals, as my lord Chancellor, and such other, whatsoever they be, they do not always seal, they have a sealing time: for I have heard poor men complain, that they have been put off from time to time of sealing, till all their money were spent. And as they have times to seal in, so our Saviour Christ had his time of sealing. When he was here in earth with his apostles, and in the time of the primitive church, Christ's doctrine was sufficiently sealed already with seals of his own making. What should our seals do? What need we to seal his seal? It is a confirmed doctrine already.

Oh, Luther, when he came into the world first, and disputed against the Decretals, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Extravagantines, what ado had he! But ye will say, perad-

venture, he was deceived in some things. I will not take upon me to defend him in all points. I will not stand to it that all that he wrote was true; I think he would not so himself: for there is no man but he may err. He came to further and further knowledge: but surely he was a goodly instrument. Well, I say, when he preached first, they call upon him to do miracles. They were wrought before, and so we need to do no miracles. Indeed when the popish prelates preached first, they had need of miracles, and the devil wrought some in the preaching of purgatory. But what kind of miracles these were, all England doth know: but it will not know. A wonderful thing that the people will continue in their blindness and ignorance still! We have great utility of the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ. He doth signify unto us by this wonderful work, that he is Lord as well of the water as of the land. A good comfort for those that be on the water, when they be in any tempest or danger, to call upon him.

The fish here came at his commandment. Here we may learn that all things in the water are subject to Christ. Peter said, "Sir, we have laboured all night, and have not caught one fin; howbeit at your word we will to it afresh." By this it appeareth that the gain, the lucre, the revenues that we get, must not be imputed to our labour; we may not say, "Gramercy labour." It is not our labour, it is our Saviour Christ that sendeth us living: yet must we labour, for he that said to Peter labour, and he that bade the fishers labour, bids all men to labour in their business. There be some people that ascribe their gains, their increase gotten by any faculty, to the devil. Is there any, trow ye, in England would say so? Now if any man should come to another, and say he got his living by the devil, he would fall out with him. There is not a man in England that so saith; yet is there some that think it. For all that get it with false buying and selling, with circumvention, with usury, impostures, mixed wares, false weights, deceiving their lords and masters; all those that get their goods on this fashion, what do they think but that the devil sends them gains and riches? For they be his, being unlawfully gotten: what is this to say but that the devil is author of their gains, when they be so gotten? for God inhibits them. *Deus non volens iniquitatem tu es;* "God will no iniquity." These folk are greatly deceived.

There be some, again, impute all to their labours and works. Yea, on the holy day they cannot find in their hearts to come to the temple to the blessed communion; they must be working at home. These are wide again on the other side. And some there be that think, if they work nothing at all, they shall have enough: they will have no good exercise, but gape, and think God will send meat into their mouths. And these are far wide: they must work. He bade the fishers work: our Saviour Christ bade Peter work: and he that said so to them, says the same to us, every man in his art. *Benedictio Dei facit divitem;* "The blessing of God maketh a man rich." He lets his sun shine upon the wicked, as well as upon the good; he sends riches both to good and bad. But this blessing turns to them into a malediction and a curse; it increaseth their damnation. St Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, did put an order how every man should work in his vocation: *Cum essemus apud vos, hoc præcipiebamus vobis, ut si quis nollet operari is nec edat;* which in our English tongue is: "When I was among you," saith he, "I made this ordinance, that whosoever would not do the work of his vocation should have no meat." It were a good ordinance in a commonweal, that every man should be set on work, every man in his vocation. "Let him have no meat." Now he saith furthermore, *Audivimus quosdam inter vos versantes inordinate nihil operis facientes,* "I hear say there be some amongst you that live inordinately." What is that word inordinately? Idly, giving themselves to no occupation for their living: *curiose agentes,* curious men, given to curiosity, to searching what other men do. St Paul saith, "he heard say;" he could not tell whether it were so or no. But he took occasion of hearing say, to set out a good and wholesome doctrine: *His autem qui sunt ejusmodi præcipimus et obsecramus;* "We command and desire you for the reverence of God, if there be any such, that they will do the works of their vocation, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eat their own bread:" else it is not their own, it is other men's meat. Our Saviour Christ, before he began his preaching, lived of his occupation; he was a carpenter, and gat his living with great labour. Therefore let no man disdain or think scorn to follow him in a mean living, a mean vocation, or a common calling and occupation. For as he blessed our nature with taking upon him the shape of man, so in his doing he blessed all occupations and arts.

This is a notable example to signify that he abhors all idleness. When he was a carpenter, then he went and did the work of his calling; and when he was a preacher, he did the work of that calling. He was no unpreaching prelate. The bishop of Rome should have learned that at him. And these gainers with false arts, what be they? They are never content with what they have, though it be never so much. And they that are true dealers are satisfied with that that God sends, though it be never so little. *Quæstus magnus pietas cum animo sua sorte contento;* "Godliness is great gain, it is lucre enough, it is vantage enough, to be content with that that God sends." The faithful cannot lack; the unfaithful is ever lacking, though he have never so much.

I will now make an end. *Labores manuum tuarum*, let us all labour. Christ teacheth us to labour, yea, the bishop of Rome himself, he teacheth him to labour, rather than to be head of the church. Let us put our trust in God, *Labores manuum tuarum*, "Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he will nourish thee and feed thee." Again, the prophet saith, *Nunquam vidi justum derelictum, nec semen ejus quærens panem;* "I never saw the righteous man forsaken, nor his seed to seek his bread." It is infidelity, infidelity that mars all together.

Well, to my text: *Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es, et bene tibi erit;* "Because thou eatest the labours of thy hands, that God sends thee of thy labour." Every man must labour; yea, though he be a king, yet he must labour: for I know no man hath a greater labour than a king. What is his labour? To study God's book, to see that there be no unpreaching prelates in his realm, nor bribing judges; to see to all estates; to provide for the poor; to see victuals good cheap. Is not this a labour, trow ye? Thus if thou dost labour, exercising the works of thy vocation, thou eatest the meat that God sends thee; and then it followeth, *Beatus es*, "Thou art a blessed man in God's favour," *et bene tibi erit*, "And it shall go well with thee in this world," both in body and soul, for God provideth for both. How shalt thou provide for thy soul? Go hear sermons. How for the body? Labour in thy vocation, and then shall it be well with thee, both here and in the world to come, through the faith and merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be praise for ever and ever, world without end. *Amen.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

The Seventh Sermon of M. Latimer preached before King Edward, April nineteenth, 1549.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.—ROM. xv. 4.
All things that be written, they be written to be our doctrine.

BY occasion of this text, most honourable audience, I have walked this Lent in the broad field of scripture, and used my liberty, and entreated of such matters as I thought meet for this auditory. I have had ado with many estates, even with the highest of all. I have entreated of the duty of kings, of the duty of magistrates and judges, of the duty of prelates; allowing that that is good, and disallowing the contrary. I have taught that we are all sinners: I think there is none of us all, neither preacher nor hearer, but we may be amended, and redress our lives: we may all say, yea, all the pack of us, *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris*, "We have offended and sinned with our forefathers." *In multis offendimus omnes*: there is none of us all but we have in sundry things grievously offended almighty God. I here entreated of many faults, and rebuked many kinds of sins. I intend to-day, by God's grace, to shew you the remedy of sin. We be in the place of repentance: now is the time to call for mercy, whilst we be in this world. We be all sinners, even the best of us all; therefore it is good to hear the remedy of sin. This day is commonly called Good-Friday: although every day ought to be with us Good-Friday, yet this day we are accustomed specially to have a commemoration and remembrance of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. This day we have in memory his bitter passion and death, which is the remedy of our sin. Therefore I intend to entreat of a piece of a story of his passion; I am not able to entreat of all. That I may do

that the better, and that it may be to the honour of God, and the edification of your souls, and mine both, I shall desire you to pray, &c. In this prayer I will desire you to remember the souls departed, with lauds and praise to almighty God, and that he did vouchsafe to assist them at the hour of their death: in so doing you shall be put in remembrance to pray for yourselves, that it may please God to assist and comfort you in the agonies and pains of death.

The place that I will entreat of is the twenty-sixth chapter of St Matthew. Howbeit, as I entreat of it, I will borrow part of St Mark, and part of St Luke: for they have somewhat that St Matthew hath not; and especially Luke. The text is, *Tunc cum venisset Jesus in villam, quæ dicitur Gethsemani*, "Then when Jesus came;" some have *in villam*, some *in agrum*, some *in prædium*. But it is all one; when Christ came into a grange, into a piece of land, into a field, it makes no matter; call it what ye will. At what time he had come into an honest man's house, and there eaten his paschal lamb, and instituted and celebrated the Lord's supper, and set forth the blessed communion; then when this was done, he took his way to the place where he knew Judas would come. It was a solitary place, and thither he went with his eleven apostles: for Judas, the twelfth, was about his business, he was occupied about his merchandise, and was providing among the bishops and priests to come with an ambushment of Jews, to take our Saviour Jesu Christ. And when he was come into the field or grange, this village, or farm-place, which was called Gethsemane, there was a garden, saith Luke, into the which he goeth, and leaves eight of his disciples without; howbeit he appointed them what they should do: he saith, *Sedete hic donec illuc vadam et orem;* "Sit you here, whilst I go yonder and pray." He told them that he went to pray, to monish them what they should do, to fall to prayer as he did. He left them there, and took no more with him but three, Peter, James, and John, to teach us that a solitary place is meet for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, *cœpit expavescere*, "he began to tremble," insomuch he said, *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*, "My soul is heavy and pensive even unto death."

This is a notable place, and one of the most especial and chiefest of all that be in the story of the passion of Christ. Here is our remedy: here we must have in consideration all

his doings and sayings, for our learning, for our edification, for our comfort and consolation.

First of all, he set his three disciples that he took with him in an order, and told them what they should do, saying, *Sedete hic, et vigilate mecum, et orate;* "Sit here, and pray that ye enter not into temptation." But of that I will entreat afterward. Now when he was in the garden, *Cœpit expavescere*, he began to be heavy, pensive, heavy-hearted. I like not Origen's playing with this word *cœpit:* it was a perfect heaviness; it was such a one as was never seen a greater; it was not only the beginning of a sorrow. These doctors, we have great cause to thank God for them, but yet I would not have them always to be allowed. They have handled many points of our faith very godly; and we may have a great stay in them in many things; we might not well lack them: but yet I would not have men to be sworn to them, and so addict, as to take hand over head whatsoever they say: it were a great inconvenience so to do.

Well, let us go forward. He took Peter, James, and John, into this garden. And why did he take them with him, rather than other? Marry, those that he had taken before, to whom he had revealed in the hill the transfiguration and declaration of his deity, to see the revelation of the majesty of his Godhead, now in the garden he revealed to the same the infirmity of his manhood: because they had tasted of the sweet, he would they should taste also of the sour. He took these with him at both times: for two or three is enough to bear witness. And he began to be heavy in his mind; he was greatly vexed within himself, he was sore afflicted, it was a great heaviness. He had been heavy many times before; and he had suffered great afflictions in his soul, as for the blindness of the Jews; and he was like to suffer more pangs of pain in his body. But this pang was greater than any that he ever suffered: yea, it was a greater torment unto him, I think a greater pain, than when he was hanged on the cross; than when the four nails were knocked and driven through his hands and feet; than when the sharp crown of thorns was thrust on his head. This was the heaviness and pensiveness of his heart, the agony of the spirit. And as the soul is more precious than the body, even so is the pains of the soul more grievous than the pains of the body: therefore there is another which writeth, *Horror mortis gravior ipsa morte;* "The

Effect of repetition

horror and ugsomeness of death is sorer than death itself." This is the most grievous pain that ever Christ suffered, even this pang that he suffered in the garden. It is the most notable place, one of them in the whole story of the passion, when he said, *Anima mea tristis est usque ad mortem*, "My soul is heavy to death;" and *cum cœpisset expavescere*, "when he began to quiver, to shake." The grievousness of it is declared by this prayer that he made: *Pater, si possibile est, &c.*, "Father, if it be possible, away with this cup: rid me of it." He understood by this cup his pains of death; for he knew well enough that his passion was at hand, that Judas was coming upon him with the Jews to take him.

There was offered unto him now the image of death; the image, the sense, the feeling of hell: for death and hell go both together. I will entreat of this image of hell, which is death. Truly no man can shew it perfectly, yet I will do the best I can to make you understand the grievous pangs that our Saviour Christ was in when he was in the garden. As man's power is not able to bear it, so no man's tongue is able to express it. Painters paint death like a man without skin, and a body having nothing but bones. And hell they paint with horrible flames of burning fire: they bungle somewhat at it, they come nothing near it. But this is no true painting. No painter can paint hell, unless he could paint the torment and condemnation both of body and soul; the possession and having of all infelicity. This is hell, this is the image of death: this is hell, such an evil-favoured face, such an uglesome countenance, such an horrible visage our Saviour Christ saw of death and hell in the garden. There is no pleasure in beholding of it, but more pain than any tongue can tell. Death and hell took unto them this evil-favoured face of sin, and through sin. This sin is so highly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished with lack of all felicity, with the feeling of infelicity. Death and hell be not only the wages, the reward, the stipend of sin: but they are brought into the world by sin. *Per peccatum mors*, saith St Paul, "through sin death entered into the world." Moses sheweth the first coming in of it into the world. Whereas our first father Adam was set at liberty to live for ever, yet God inhibiting him from eating of the apple, told him: "If thou meddle with this fruit, thou and all thy posterity shall fall into necessity of death, from

ever living: *morte morieris*, thou and all thy posterity shall be subject to death." Here came in death and hell: sin was their mother: therefore they must have such an image as their mother sin would give them.

An uglesome thing and an horrible image must it needs be, that is brought in by such a thing so hated of God; yea, this face of death and hell is so terrible, that such as have been wicked men had rather be hanged than abide it. As Achitophel, that traitor to David, like an ambitious wretch, thought to have come to higher promotion, and therefore conspired with Absolon against his master David: he, when he saw his counsel took no place, goes and hangs himself, in contemplation of this evil-favoured face of death. Judas also, when he came with bushments to take his master Christ, in beholding this horrible face hanged himself. Yea, the elect people of God, the faithful, having the beholding of his face, (though God hath always preserved them, such a good God he is to them that believe in him, that "he will not suffer them to be tempted above that that they have been able to bear,") yet for all that, there is nothing that they complain more sore than of this horror of death. Go to Job, what saith he? *Pereat dies in quo natus sum, suspendium elegit anima mea;* "Wo worth the day that I was born in, my soul would be hanged:" saying in his pangs almost he wist not what. This was when with the eye of his conscience and the inward man he beheld the horror of death and hell: not for any bodily pain he suffered; for when he had boils, blotches, blains, and scabs, he suffered them patiently: he could say then, *Si bona suscepi de manu Domini*, &c., "If we have received good things of God, why should we not suffer likewise evil?" It was not for any such thing that he was so vexed: but the sight of this face of death and hell was offered to him so lively, that he would have been out of this world. It was this evil-favoured face of death that so troubled him. King David also said, in contemplation of this uglesome face, *Laboravi in gemitu meo*, "I have been sore vexed with sighing and mourning." *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus*, "Mine eye hath been greatly troubled in my rage." A strange thing! When he had to fight with Goliath, that monstrous giant, who was able to have eaten him, he could abide him, and was nothing afraid. And now what a work! What exclamations makes he at the sight of death! Jonas

likewise was bold enough to bid the shipmen cast him into the sea, he had not seen that face and visage: but when he was in the whale's belly, and had there the beholding of it, what terror and distress abode he! Hezekiah, when he saw Sennacherib besieging his city on every side most violently, was nothing afraid of the great host and mighty army that was like to destroy him out of hand; yet he was afraid of death. When the prophet came unto him, and said, *Dispone domui tuæ, morte morieris et non vives*, "Set thy house in order, for thou shalt surely die, and not live;" (2 Kings xx.), it struck him so to the heart that he fell a-weeping. O Lord, what an horror was this! There be some writers that say, that Peter, James, and John were in this feeling at the same time; and that Peter, when he said, *Exi a me Domine, quia homo peccator sum*, "Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man," did taste some part of it: he was so astonished, he wist not what to say. It was not long that they were in this anguish; some say longer, some shorter: but Christ was ready to comfort them, and said to Peter, *Ne timeas*, "Be not afraid." A friend of mine told me of a certain woman that was eighteen years together in it. I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, what time he had borne his fagot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself, beholding this image of death, that his friends were afraid to let him be alone: they were fain to be with him day and night, and comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve. As for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him it was as though a man would run him through the heart with a sword; yet afterward, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome. Wo will be to that bishop, that had the examination of him, if he repented not!

Here is a good lesson for you, my friends; if ever you come in danger, in durance, in prison for God's quarrel, and his sake, as he did for purgatory-matters, and put to bear a fagot for preaching the true word of God against pilgrimage, and such like matters, I will advise you first, and above all things, to abjure all your friends, all your friendships; leave not one unabjured. It is they that shall undo you, and not your enemies. It was his very friends that brought Bilney to it.

By this it may somewhat appear what our Saviour Christ suffered; he doth not dissemble it himself, when he saith, "My soul is heavy to death:" he was in so sore an agony, that there issued out of him, as I shall entreat anon, drops of blood. An ugsome thing surely, which this fact and deed sheweth us, what horrible pains he was in for our sakes! But you will say, "How can this be? It were possible that I, and such other as be great sinners, should suffer such affliction; the Son of God, what our Saviour Christ, [who] never sinned, how can this stand that he should be thus handled? He never deserved it."

Marry, I will tell you how. We must consider our Saviour Christ two ways, one way in his manhood, another in his Godhead. Some places of scripture must be referred to his Deity, and some to his humanity. In his Godhead he suffered nothing; but now he made himself void of his Deity, as scripture saith, *Cum esset in forma Dei, exinanivit seipsum*, "Whereas he was in the form of God, he emptied himself of it, he did hide it, and used himself as though he had not had it." He would not help himself with his Godhead; "he humbled himself with all obedience unto death, even to the death of the cross:" this was in that he was man. He took upon him our sins: not the work of sin; I mean not so: not to do it, not to commit it; but to purge it, to cleanse it, to bear the stipend of it: and that way he was the great sinner of the world. He bare all the sin of the world on his back; he would become debtor for it.

Now to sustain and suffer the dolours of death is not to sin: but he came into this world with his passion to purge our sins. Now this that he suffered in the garden is one of the bitterest pieces of all his passion: this fear of death was the bitterest pain that ever he abode, due to sin which he never did, but became debtor for us. All this he suffered for us; this he did to satisfy for our sins. It is much like as if I owed another man twenty thousand pounds, and should pay it out of hand, or else go to the dungeon of Ludgate; and when I am going to prison, one of my friends should come and ask, "Whither goeth this man?" and after he had heard the matter, should say, "Let me answer for him, I will become surety for him: yea, I will pay all for him." Such a part played our Saviour Christ with us. If he had not suffered this, I for my part should

have suffered, according to the gravity and quantity of my sins, damnation. For the greater the sin is, the greater is the punishment in hell. He suffered for you and me, in such a degree as is due to all the sins of the whole world. It was as if you would imagine that one man had committed all the sins since Adam: you may be sure he should be punished with the same horror of death, in such a sort as all men in the world should have suffered. Feign and put case, our Saviour Christ had committed all the sins of the world; all that I for my part have done, all that you for your part have done, and that any man else hath done: if he had done all this himself, his agony that he suffered should have been no greater nor grievouser than it was. This that he suffered in the garden was a portion, I say, of his passion, and one of the bitterest parts of it. And this he suffered for our sins, and not for any sins that he had committed himself: for all we should have suffered, every man according to his own deserts. This he did of his goodness, partly to purge and cleanse our sins, partly because he would taste and feel our miseries, *quo possit succurrere nobis*, "that he should the rather help and relieve us;" and partly he suffered to give us example to behave ourselves as he did. He did not suffer, to discharge us clean from death, to keep us clean from it, not to taste of it. Nay nay, you must not take it so. We shall have the beholding of this ugsome face every one of us; we shall feel it ourselves. Yet our Saviour Christ did suffer, to the intent to signify to us that death is overcomeable. We shall indeed overcome it, if we repent, and acknowledge that our Saviour Jesu Christ pacified with his pangs and pains the wrath of the Father; having a love to walk in the ways of God. If we believe in Jesu Christ, we shall overcome death: I say it shall not prevail against us. Wherefore, whensoever it chanceth thee, my friend, to have the tasting of this death, that thou shalt be tempted with this horror of death, what is to be done then? Whensoever thou feelest thy soul heavy to death, make haste and resort to this garden; and with this faith thou shalt overcome this terror when it cometh. Oh, it was a grievous thing that Christ suffered here! O the greatness of this dolour that he suffered in the garden, partly to make amends for our sins, and partly to deliver us from death; not so that we should not die bodily, but that this death should be a way to a better life, and to destroy and overcome hell! Our Saviour Christ

had a garden, but he had little pleasure in it. You have many goodly gardens: I would you would in the midst of them consider what agony our Saviour Christ suffered in his garden. A goodly meditation to have in your gardens! It shall occasion you to delight no farther in vanities, but to remember what he suffered for you. It may draw you from sin. It is a good monument, a good sign, a good monition, to consider how he behaved himself in this garden.

Well; he saith to his disciples, "Sit here and pray with me." He went a little way off, as it were a stone's cast from them, and falleth to his prayer, and saith: *Pater, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste;* "Father, if it be possible, away with this bitter cup, this outrageous pain." Yet after he corrects himself, and says, *Veruntamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis;* "Not my will, but thy will be done, O Father." Here is a good meditation for christian men at all times, and not only upon Good Friday. Let Good Friday be every day to a christian man, to know to use his passion to that end and purpose; not only to read the story, but to take the fruit of it. Some men, if they had been in this agony, would have run themselves through with their swords, as Saul did: some would have hanged themselves, as Achitophel did. Let us not follow these men, they be no examples for us; but let us follow Christ, which in his agony resorted to his Father with his prayer. This must be our pattern to work by.

Here I might dilate the matter as touching praying to saints. Here we may learn not to pray to saints. Christ bids us, *Ora Patrem qui est in cœlis*, "Pray to thy Father that is in heaven;" to the Creator, and not to any creature. And therefore away with these avowries[1]: let God alone be our avowry. What have we to do to run hither or thither, but only to the Father of heaven? I will not tarry to speak of this matter.

Our Saviour Christ set his disciples in an order, and commanded them to watch and pray, saying, *Vigilate et orate;* "Watch and pray." Whereto should they watch and pray? He saith by and by, *ne intretis in tentationem*, "that ye enter not into temptation." He bids them not pray that we be not tempted; for that is as much to say, as to pray that we should be out of this world. There is no man in this world without temptation. In the time of prosperity we

[1] protectors.

are tempted to wantonness, pleasures, and all lightness; in time of adversity, to despair in God's goodness. Temptation never ceases. There is a difference between being tempted, and entering into temptation. He bids therefore not to pray that they be not tempted, but that they "enter not into temptation." To be tempted is no evil thing. For what is it? No more than when the flesh, the devil and the world, doth solicit and move us against God. To give place to these suggestions, and to yield ourselves, and suffer us to be overcome with them, this is to enter into temptation. Our Saviour Christ knew that they should be grievously tempted, and therefore he gave them warning that they should not give place to temptation, nor despair at his death: and if they chanced to forsake him, or to run away, in case they tripped or swerved, yet to come again.

But our Saviour Christ did not only command his disciples to pray, but fell down upon his knees flat upon the ground, and prayed himself, saying, *Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste;* "Father, deliver me of this pang and pain that I am in, this outrageous pain." This word, "Father," came even from the bowels of his heart, when he made his moan; as who should say, "Father, rid me; I am in such pain that I can be in no greater! Thou art my Father, I am thy Son. Can the Father forsake his son in such anguish?" Thus he made his moan. "Father, take away this horror of death from me; rid me of this pain; suffer me not to be taken when Judas comes; suffer me not to be hanged on the cross; suffer not my hands to be pierced with nails, nor my heart with the sharp spear." A wonderful thing, that he should so oft tell his disciples of it before, and now, when he cometh to the point, to desire to be rid of it, as though he would have been disobedient to the will of his Father. Afore he said, he came to suffer; and now he says, away with this cup. Who would have thought that ever this gear should have come out of Christ's mouth? What a case is this! What should a man say? You must understand, that Christ took upon him our infirmities, of the which this was one, to be sorry at death. Among the stipends of sin, this was one, to tremble at the cross: this is a punishment for our sin.

It goeth otherways with us than with Christ: if we were in like case, and in like agony, almost we would curse God, or rather wish that there were no God. This that he

said was not of that sort; it was referring the matter to the will of his Father. But we seek by all means, be it right, be it wrong, of our own nature to be rid out of pain: he desired it conditionally, as it might stand with his Father's will; adding a *veruntamen* to it. So his request was to shew the infirmity of man. Here is now an example what we shall do when we are in like case. He never deserved it, we have. He had a *veruntamen*, and notwithstanding: let us have so to. We must have a "nevertheless, thy will be done, and not mine: give me grace to be content, to submit my will unto thine." His fact teacheth us what to do. This is our surgery, our physic, when we be in agony: and reckon upon it, friends, we shall come to it; we shall feel it at one time or another.

What doth he now? What came to pass now, when he had heard no voice, his Father was dumb? He resorts to his friends, seeking some comfort at their hands. Seeing he had none at his Father's hand, he cometh to his disciples, and finds them asleep. He spake unto Peter, and said, "Ah Peter, art thou asleep?" Peter before had bragged stoutly, as though he would have killed, (God have mercy upon his soul!) and now, when he should have comforted Christ, he was asleep. Not once buff nor baff to him: not a word. He was fain to say to his disciples, *Vigilate et orate*, "Watch and pray; the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak:" he had never a word of them again. They might at the least have said, "O Sir, remember yourself; are you not Christ? Came not you into this world to redeem sin? Be of good cheer, be of good comfort: this sorrow will not help you; comfort yourself by your own preaching. You have said, *Oportet Filium hominis pati*, 'It behoveth the Son of man to suffer.' You have not deserved any thing, it is not your fault." Indeed, if they had done this with him, they had played a friendly part with him; but they gave him not so much as one comfortable word. We run to our friends in our distresses and agonies, as though we had all our trust and confidence in them. He did not so; he resorted to them, but trusted not in them. We will run to our friends, and come no more to God; he returned again. What! Shall we not resort to our friends in time of need? And, trow ye, we shall not find them asleep? Yes, I warrant you: and when we need their help most, we shall not have it. But what shall we do, when we shall find lack in them? We will cry out upon them, upbraid them, chide,

brawl, fume, chafe, and backbite them. But Christ did not so; he excused his friends, saying, *Vigilate et orate; spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma:* "O!" quoth he, "watch and pray: I see well the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak." What meaneth this? Surely it is a comfortable place. For as long as we live in this world, when we be at the best, we have no more but *promptitudinem spiritus cum infirmitate carnis*, the readiness of the spirit with the infirmity of the flesh. The very saints of God said, *Velle adest mihi*, "My will is good, but I am not able to perform it." I have been with some, and fain they would, fain they would: there was readiness of spirit, but it would not be; it grieved them that they could not take things as they should do. The flesh resisteth the work of the Holy Ghost in our hearts, and lets it, lets it. We have to pray ever to God. O prayer, prayer! that it might be used in this realm, as it ought to be of all men, and specially of magistrates, of counsellors, of great rulers; to pray, to pray that it would please God to put godly policies in their hearts! Call for assistance.

I have heard say, when that good queen[1] that is gone had ordained in her house daily prayer both before noon, and after noon, the admiral gets him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, an ambitious man: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer: I would there were no more in England! Well: he is gone. I would he had left none behind him! Remember you, my lords, that you pray in your houses to the better mortification of your flesh. Remember, God must be honoured. I will you to pray, that God will continue his Spirit in you. I do not put you in comfort, that if ye have once the Spirit, ye cannot lose it. There be new spirits start up now of late, that say, after we have received the Spirit, we cannot sin. I will make but one argument: St Paul had brought the Galatians to the profession of the faith, and left them in that state; they had received the Spirit once, but they sinned again, as he testified of them himself: he saith, *Currebatis bene;* ye were once in a right state: and again, *Recepistis Spiritum*

[1] Catherine Par, who married the lord admiral Seymour.

ex operibus legis an ex justitia fidei? Once they had the Spirit by faith; but false prophets came, when he was gone from them, and they plucked them clean away from all that Paul had planted them in: and then said Paul unto them, *O stulti Galati, quis vos fascinavit?* "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?" If this be true, we may lose the Spirit that we have once possessed. It is a fond thing: I will not tarry in it. But now to the passion again.

Christ had been with his Father, and felt no help: he had been with his friends, and had no comfort: he had prayed twice, and was not heard: what did he now? Did he give prayer over? No, he goeth again to his Father, and saith the same again: "Father, if it be possible, away with this cup." Here is an example for us, although we be not heard at the first time, shall we give over our prayer? Nay, we must to it again. We must be importune upon God. We must be instant in prayer. He prayed thrice, and was not heard; let us pray threescore times. Folks are very dull now-a-days in prayer, to come to sermons, to resort to common prayer. You house-keepers, and especially great men, give example of prayer in your houses.

Well; did his Father look upon him this second time? No, he went to his friends again, thinking to find some comfort there, but he finds them asleep again; more deep asleep than ever they were: their eyes were heavy with sleep; there was no comfort at all; they wist not what to say to him. A wonderful thing, how he was tost from post to pillar; one while to his Father, and was destitute at his hand; another while to his friends, and found no comfort at them: his Father gave him looking on, and suffered him to bite upon the bridle awhile. Almighty God beheld this battle, that he might enjoy the honour and glory; "that in his name all knees should bow, *cœlestium, terrestrium et infernorum*, in heaven, earth, and hell." This, that the Father would not hear his own Son, was another punishment due to our sin. When we cry unto him, he will not hear us. The prophet Jeremy saith, *Clamabunt ad me et ego non exaudiam eos;* "They shall cry unto me, and I will not hear them." These be Jeremy's words: here he threateneth to punish sin with not hearing their prayers. The prophet saith, "They have not had the fear of God before their eyes, nor have not regarded discipline and correction." I never saw,

surely, so little discipline as is now-a-days. Men will be masters; they will be masters and no disciples. Alas, where is this discipline now in England? The people regard no discipline; they be without all order. Where they should give place, they will not stir one inch: yea, where magistrates should determine matters, they will break into the place before they come, and at their coming not move a whit for them. Is this discipline? Is this good order? If a man say anything unto them, they regard it not. They that be called to answer, will not answer directly, but scoff the matter out. Men the more they know, the worse they be; it is truly said, *scientia inflat*, "knowledge maketh us proud, and causeth us to forget all, and set away discipline." Surely in popery they had a reverence; but now we have none at all. I never saw the like. This same lack of the fear of God and discipline in us was one of the causes that the Father would not hear his Son. This pain suffered our Saviour Christ for us, who never deserved it. O, what it was that he suffered in this garden, till Judas came! The dolours, the terrors, the sorrows that he suffered be unspeakable! He suffered partly to make amends for our sins, and partly to give us example, what we should do in like case. What comes of this gear in the end?

Well; now he prayeth again, he resorteth to his Father again. *Angore correptus prolixius orabat;* he was in sorer pains, in more anguish than ever he was; and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardently, more fervently, more vehemently, than ever he did before. O Lord, what a wonderful thing is this! This horror of death is worse than death itself, and is more ugsome, more bitter than any bodily death. He prayeth now the third time. He did it so instantly, so fervently, that it brought out a bloody sweat, and in such plenty, that it dropped down even to the ground. There issued out of his precious body drops of blood. What a pain was he in, when these bloody drops fell so abundantly from him! Yet for all that, how unthankful do we shew ourselves toward him that died only for our sakes, and for the remedy of our sins! O what blasphemy do we commit day by day! what little regard have we to his blessed passion, thus to swear by God's blood, by Christ's passion! We have nothing in our pastime, but "God's blood," "God's wounds." We continually blaspheme his passion, in hawking, hunting, dicing, and carding. Who would think he should have such enemies

among those that profess his name? What became of his blood that fell down, trow ye? Was the blood of Hales[1] of it? Wo worth it! What ado was there to bring this out of the king's head! This great abomination, of the blood of Hales, could not be taken a great while out of his mind.

You that be of the court, and especially ye sworn chaplains, beware of a lesson that a great man taught me at my first coming to the court: he told me for good-will; he thought it well. He said to me, "You must beware, howsoever ye do, that ye contrary not the king; let him have his sayings; follow him; go with him." Marry, out upon this counsel! Shall I say as he says? Say your conscience, or else what a worm shall ye feel gnawing; what a remorse of conscience shall ye have, when ye remember how ye have slacked your duty! It is a good wise verse, *Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo;* "The drop of rain maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by oft falling." Likewise a prince must be turned; not violently, but he must be won by a little and a little. He must have his duty told him; but it must be done with humbleness, with request of pardon; or else it were a dangerous thing. Unpreaching prelates have been the cause, that the blood of Hales did so long blind the king. Wo worth that such an abominable thing should be in a christian realm! But thanks be to God, it was partly redressed in the king's days that dead is, and much more now. God grant good-will and power to go forward, if there be any such abomination behind, that it may be utterly rooted up!

O how happy are we, that it hath pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe that his Son should sweat blood for the redeeming of our sins! And, again, how unhappy are we, if we will not take it thankfully, that were redeemed so painfully! Alas, what hard hearts have we! Our Saviour Christ never sinned, and yet sweat he blood for our sins. We will not once water our eyes with a few tears. What an horrible thing is sin; that no other thing would remedy and pay the ransom for it, but only the blood of our Saviour Christ! There was nothing to pacify the Father's wrath against man, but such an agony as he suffered. All the passion of all the martyrs that ever were, all the sacrifices of patriarchs that

[1] A noted "relic," kept in the abbey of Hales in Gloucestershire. It was said to be a portion of our Saviour's blood, but when examined it was found to be coloured honey.

ever were, all the good works that ever were done, were not able to remedy our sin, to make satisfaction for our sins, nor anything besides, but this extreme passion and blood-shedding of our most merciful Saviour Christ.

But to draw toward an end. What became of this three-fold prayer? At the length, it pleased God to hear his Son's prayer; and send him an angel to corroborate, to strengthen, to comfort him. Christ needed no angel's help, if he had listed to ease himself with his deity. He was the Son of God: what then? Forsomuch as he was man, he received comfort at the angel's hand; as it accords to our infirmity. His obedience, his continuance, and suffering, so pleased the Father of heaven, that for his Son's sake, be he never so great a sinner, leaving his sin, and repenting for the same, he will owe him such favour as though he had never committed any sin. The Father of heaven will not suffer him to be tempted with this great horror of death and hell to the uttermost, and above that he is able to bear. Look for it, my friends, by him and through him, we shall be able to overcome it. Let us do as our Saviour Christ did, and we shall have help from above, we shall have angels' help: if we trust in him, heaven and earth shall give up, rather than we shall lack help. He saith he is *Adjutor in necessitatibus*, "an helper in time of need."

When the angel had comforted him, and when this horror of death was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himself to Judas; and said, "I am he." To make an end: I pray you take pains: it is a day of penance, as we use to say, give me leave to make you weary this day. The Jews had him to Caiaphas and Annas, and there they whipped him, and beat him: they set a crown of sharp thorns upon his head, and nailed him to a tree: yet all this was not so bitter, as this horror of death, and this agony that he suffered in the garden, in such a degree as is due to all the sins of the world, and not to one man's sins. Well; this passion is our remedy; it is the satisfaction for our sins.

His soul descended to hell for a time. Here is much ado! These new upstarting spirits say, "Christ never descended into hell, neither body nor soul." In scorn they will ask, "Was he there? What did he there?" What if we cannot tell what he did there? The creed goeth no further, but saith, he descended thither. What is that to us, if we cannot tell, seeing we were taught no further? Paul

was taken up into the third heaven; ask likewise what he saw when he was carried thither? You shall not find in scripture, what he saw or what he did there: shall we not, therefore, believe that he was there? These arrogant spirits, spirits of vain-glory, because they know not by any express scripture the order of his doings in hell, they will not believe that ever he descended into hell. Indeed this article hath not so full scripture, so many places and testimonies of scriptures, as others have; yet it hath enough: it hath two or three texts; and if it had but one, one text of scripture is of as good and lawful authority as a thousand, and of as certain truth. It is not to be weighed by the multitude of texts. I believe as certainly and verily that this realm of England hath as good authority to hear God's word, as any nation in all the world: it may be gathered by two texts: one of them is this; *Ite in universum mundum, et prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ*, "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures." Again, *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*, "God will have all men to be saved." He excepts not the Englishmen here, nor yet expressly nameth them; and yet I am as sure that this realm of England, by this gathering, is allowed to hear God's word, as though Christ had said a thousand times, "Go preach to Englishmen: I will that Englishmen be saved." Because this article of his descending into hell cannot be gathered so directly, so necessarily, so formally, they utterly deny it.

This article hath scriptures two or three; enough for quiet minds: as for curious brains, nothing can content them. This the devil's stirring up of such spirits of sedition is an evident argument that the light is come forth; for his word is abroad when the devil rusheth, when he roareth, when he stirreth up such busy spirits to slander it. My intent is not to entreat of this matter at this time. I trust the people will not be carried away with these new arrogant spirits. I doubt not, but good preachers will labour against them.

But now I will say a word, and herein I protest first of all, not arrogantly to determine and define it: I will contend with no man for it; I will not have it to be prejudice to any body, but I offer it unto you to consider and weigh it. There be some great clerks that take my part, and I perceive not what evil can come of it, in saying, that our Saviour Christ did not only in soul descend into hell, but

also that he suffered in hell such pains as the damned spirits did suffer there. Surely, I believe verily, for my part, that he suffered the pains of hell proportionably, as it corresponds and answers to the whole sin of the world. He would not suffer only bodily in the garden and upon the cross, but also in his soul when it was from the body; which was a pain due for our sin. Some write so, and I can believe it, that he suffered in the very place, and I cannot tell what it is, call it what ye will, even in the scalding-house, in the ugsomeness of the place, in the presence of the place, such pain as our capacity cannot attain unto: it is somewhat declared unto us, when we utter it by these effects, "by fire, by gnashing of teeth, by the worm that gnaweth on the conscience." Whatsoever the pain is, it is a great pain that he suffered for us.

I see no inconvenience to say, that Christ suffered in sou in hell. I singularly commend the exceeding great charity of Christ, that for our sakes would suffer in hell in his soul. It sets out the unspeakable hatred that God hath to sin. I perceive not that it doth derogate any thing from the dignity of Christ's death; as in the garden, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from that he suffered on the cross. Scripture speaketh on this fashion: *Qui credit in me habet vitam æternam;* "He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting." Here he sets forth faith as the cause of our justification; in other places, as high commendation is given to works: and yet, are the works any derogation from that dignity of faith? No. And again, scripture saith, *Traditus est propter peccata nostra, et exsuscitatus propter justificationem*, &c. It attributeth here our justification to his resurrection; and doth this derogate any thing from his death? Not a whit. It is whole Christ. What with his nativity; what with his circumcision; what with his incarnation and the whole process of his life; with his preaching; what with his ascending, descending; what with his death; it is all Christ that worketh our salvation. He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and all for us. All this is the work of our salvation. I would be as loth to derogate any thing from Christ's death, as the best of you all. How inestimably are we bound to him! What thanks ought we to give him for it! We must have this continually in remembrance: *Propter te morti tradimur tota die*, "For thee we are in dying continually." The life of a christian man

is nothing but a readiness to die, and a remembrance of death.

If this that I have spoken of Christ's suffering in the garden, and in hell, derogate any thing from Christ's death and passion, away with it; believe me not in this. If it do not, it commends and sets forth very well unto us the perfection of the satisfaction that Christ made for us, and the work of redemption, not only before witness in this world, but in hell, in that ugsome place; where whether he suffered or wrestled with the spirits, or comforted Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, I will not desire to know. If ye like not that which I have spoken of his suffering, let it go, I will not strive in it: I will be prejudice to no body; weigh it as ye list. I do but offer it you to consider. It is like, his soul did somewhat the three days that his body lay in the grave. To say, he suffered in hell for us, derogates nothing from his death: for all things that Christ did before his suffering on the cross, and after, do work our salvation. If he had not been incarnate, he had not died: he was beneficial to us with all things he did. Christian people should have his suffering for them in remembrance. Let your gardens monish you, your pleasant gardens, what Christ suffered for you in the garden, and what commodity you have by his suffering. It is his will ye should so do; he would be had in remembrance. Mix your pleasures with the remembrance of his bitter passion. The whole passion is satisfaction for our sins; and not the bare death, considering it so nakedly by itself. The manner of speaking of scripture is to be considered. It attributeth our salvation now to one thing, now to another that Christ did; where indeed it pertained to all. Our Saviour Christ hath left behind him a remembrance of his passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lord's Supper: alack! it hath been long abused, as the sacrifices were before in the old law. The patriarchs used sacrifice in the faith of the Seed of the woman, which should break the serpent's head. The patriarchs sacrificed on hope, and afterward the work was esteemed. There come other after, and they consider not the faith of Abraham and the patriarchs, but do their sacrifice according to their own imagination: even so came it to pass with our blessed communion. In the primitive church, in places when their friends were dead, they used to come together to the holy communion. What! to remedy them that were dead? No, no, a straw; it was instituted

for no such purpose. But then they would call to remembrance God's goodness, and his passion that he suffered for us, wherein they comforted much their faith.

Others came afterward, and set up all these kinds of massing, all these kinds of iniquity. What an abomination is it, the foulest that ever was, to attribute to man's work our salvation! God be thanked that we have this blessed communion set forth so now, that we may comfort, increase, and fortify our faith at that blessed celebration! If he be guilty of the body of Christ, that takes it unworthily; he fetcheth great comfort at it, that eats it worthily. He doth eat it worthily, that doth eat it in faith. In faith? in what faith? Not long ago a great man said in an audience, "They babble much of faith; I will go lie with my whore all night, and have as good a faith as the best of them all." I think he never knew other but the whoremonger's faith. It is no such faith that will serve. It is no bribing judge's or justice's faith; no rent-raiser's faith; no whoremonger's faith; no lease-monger's faith; nor no seller of benefices' faith; but the faith in the passion of our Saviour Christ. We must believe that our Saviour Christ hath taken us again to his favour, that he hath delivered us his own body and blood, to plead with the devil, and by merit of his own passion, of his own mere liberality. This is the faith, I tell you, that we must come to the communion with, and not the whoremonger's faith. Look where remission of sin is, there is acknowledging of sin also. Faith is a noble duchess, she hath ever her gentleman-usher going before her,—the confessing of sins: she hath a train after her,—the fruits of good works, the walking in the commandments of God. He that believeth will not be idle, he will walk; he will do his business. Have ever the gentleman-usher with you. So if ye will try faith, remember this rule,—consider whether the train be waiting upon her. If you have another faith than this, a whoremonger's faith, you are like to go to the scalding-house, and there you shall have two dishes, weeping and gnashing of teeth. Much good do it you! you see your fare. If ye will believe and acknowledge your sins, you shall come to the blessed communion of the bitter passion of Christ worthily, and so attain to everlasting life: to the which the Father of heaven bring you and me! *Amen.*

LAST SERMON PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

A Most Faithful Sermon preached before the King's Most Excellent Majesty and his Most Honourable Council, in his Court at Westminster, by the Reverend Father Master Hugh Latimer, in Lent Anno Domini, 1550.

Videte et cavete ab avaritia.—LUKE xii. 15.

Take heed and beware of covetousness.

"TAKE heed and beware of covetousness."—"Take heed and beware of covetousness."—"Take heed and beware of covetousness." And what and if I should say nothing else these three or four hours (for I know it will be so long, in case I be not commanded to the contrary) but these words, "Take heed and beware of covetousness?" It would be thought a strange sermon before a king, to say nothing else but *Cavete ab avaritia*, "Beware of covetousness." And yet as strange as it is, it would be like the sermon of Jonas, that he preached to the Ninivites; as touching the shortness, and as touching the paucity or fewness of the words. For his sermon was, *Adhuc quadraginta dies, et Ninive subvertetur;* "There is yet forty days to come, and Ninive shall be destroyed." Thus he walked from street to street, and from place to place round about the city, and said nothing else but, "There is yet forty days," quoth he, "and Ninive shall be destroyed." There is no great odds nor difference, at the least-wise in the number of words, no nor yet in the sense or meaning, between these two sermons, "There is yet forty days, and Ninive shall be destroyed;" and these words that I have taken to speak of this day: "Take heed, and beware of covetousness." For Ninive should be destroyed for sin, and of their sins covetousness was one, and one of the greatest; so that it is all one in effect. And as they be like concerning the shortness, the paucity of words, the

brevity of words, and also the meaning and purpose; so I would they might be like in fruit and profit. For what came of Jonas's sermon? What was the fruit of it? *Ad prædicationem Jonæ crediderunt Deo;* "At the preaching of Jonas they believed God." Here was a great fruit, a great effect wrought. What is the same? "They believed God." They believed God's preacher, God's officer, God's minister, Jonas; and were converted from their sin. They believed that, as the preacher said, if they did not repent and amend their life, the city should be destroyed within forty days. This was a great fruit: for Jonas was but one man, and he preached but one sermon, and it was but a short sermon neither, as touching the number of words; and yet he turned all the whole city great and small, rich and poor, king and all.

We be many preachers here in England, and we preach many long sermons, yet the people will not repent nor convert. This was the fruit, the effect, and the good that his sermon did, that all the whole city at his preaching converted, and amended their evil living; and did penance in sack-cloth. And yet here in this sermon of Jonas is no great curiousness, no great clerkliness, no great affectation of words, nor of painted eloquence; it was none other but, *Adhuc quadraginta dies, et Ninive subvertetur*, "Yet forty days, *et Ninive subvertetur*, and Ninive shall be destroyed:" it was no more. This was no great curious sermon, but this was a nipping sermon, a pinching sermon, a biting sermon; it had a full bite, it was a nipping sermon, a rough sermon, and a sharp biting sermon. Do you not here marvel that these Ninivites cast not Jonas in prison; that they did not revile him, and rebuke him? They did not revile him, nor rebuke him; but God gave them grace to hear him, and to convert and amend at this preaching. A strange matter, so noble a city to give place to one man's sermon! Now England cannot abide this gear; they cannot be content to hear God's minister, and his threatening for their sin, though the sermon be never so good, though it be never so true. It is, a naughty fellow, a seditious fellow; he maketh trouble and rebellion in the realm; he lacketh discretion. But the Ninivites rebuked not Jonas that he lacked discretion, or that he spake out of time, that his sermon was out of season made: but in England, if God's preacher, God's minister, be any thing quick, or do speak sharply, then he is a foolish fellow, he is rash, he lacketh discretion. Now-a-days if they

cannot reprove the doctrine that is preached, then they will reprove the preacher, that he lacketh due consideration of the times; and that he is of learning sufficient, but he wanteth discretion. "What a time is this, picked out to preach such things! He should have a respect and a regard to the time, and to the state of things, and of the commonweal." It rejoiceth me sometimes, when my friend cometh and telleth me that they find fault with my discretion; for by likelihood, think I, the doctrine is true: for if they could find fault with the doctrine, they would not charge me with the lack of discretion; but they would charge me with my doctrine, and not with the lack of discretion, or with the inconveniency of the time. I will now ask you a question: I pray you, when should Jonas have preached against the covetousness of Ninive, if the covetous men should have appointed him his time? I know that preachers ought to have a discretion in their preaching, and that they ought to have a consideration and respect to the place and the time that he preacheth in; as I myself will say here that I would not say in the country for no good. But what then? Sin must be rebuked; sin must be plainly spoken against. And when should Jonas have preached against Ninive, if he should have forborne for the respects of the times, or the place, or the state of things there? For what was Ninive? A noble, a rich, and a wealthy city. What is London to Ninive? Like a village, as Islington, or such another, in comparison of London. Such a city was Ninive, it was three days' journey to go through every street of it, and to go but from street to street. There were noblemen, rich men, wealthy men; there were vicious men, and covetous men, and men that gave themselves to all voluptuous living, and to worldliness of getting riches. Was this a time well chosen and discreetly taken of Jonas, to come and reprove them of their sin; to declare unto them the threatenings of God; and to tell them of their covetousness; and to say plainly unto them, that except they repented and amended their evil living, they and their city should be destroyed of God's hand within forty days? And yet they heard Jonas and gave place to his preaching. They heard the threatenings of God, and feared his stroke and vengeance, and believed God: that is, they believed God's preacher and minister; they believed that God would be true of his word that he spake by the mouth of his prophet, and thereupon did

penance, to turn away the wrath of God from them. Well, what shall we say? I will say this, and not spare: Christ saith, Ninive shall arise against the Jews at the last day, and bear witness against them; because that they, hearing God's threatening for sin, *ad prædicationem Jonæ in cinere et sacco egerunt pœnitentiam*, "They did penance at the preaching of Jonas in ashes and sackcloth," (as the text saith there:) and I say, Ninive shall arise against England, thou England; Ninive shall arise against England, because it will not believe God, nor hear his preachers that cry daily unto them, nor amend their lives, and especially their covetousness. Covetousness is as great a sin now as it was then: and it is the same sin now it was then: and he will as sure strike for sin now, as he did then.

But ah, good God, that would give them a time of repentance after his threatenings! First, to see whether they would amend or not, or he would destroy them. For even from the beginning of the world they fell to sin. The first age from Adam, which was about two thousand years, they fell ever to sin, and they had preachers, Noe and Enoch, and other holy fathers. And in that time a great multiplication was that grew in two thousand years; for that scripture saith, "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives from among all that they had chosen." This is a long matter to speak of all. But what meaneth this, "the sons of God saw the daughters of men?" Who were these sons of God? The sons of God were those that came of the good men, of the good preachers, of the holy fathers, that were God's men; as they that came of Seth and Enos, that were good men, and of others. For our grandmother Eve, when Cain had killed Abel, and when she had another son by Adam, who was called Seth, what did she? She gave thanks to God for him, and acknowledged that God it was which had given him unto her; for she said, *Dedit mihi Deus semen pro Abel quem occidit Cain:* "God," said she, "hath given me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew." Here is a long matter to talk on. Some will say, Was this a natural mother, was this naturally done, to publish the sin of her own son? What needed she to speak of that matter, or to make any rehearsal of that matter, to open the sin of her son? What needed she this to do? Yes, she was now a good woman; when she believed the serpent, she was not

good. But now she had repented that deed, and had taken hold of the promise of God, that there should come of her a seed that should tread down and destroy the head of the serpent. She had taken hold of this promise, and was now a good woman, and a godly woman; she opened the fault of her son, and hid it not. Here could I say somewhat to them, if I would, that spake so much against me for my preaching here the last year. But to return to Eve, and declare that the sons of God are to be understood those that came of good men, as of Seth and Enos, and the same good part of generation. And the daughters of men are to be understood of them that came of Cain and of his seed: and therefore our grandmother Eve bade beware of marrying with Cain's seed, for fear of falling from God to wickedness thereby.

And here I would say a thing to your Majesty: I shall speak it of good will to your highness: I would I were able to do your Grace good service in any thing, ye should be sure to have it. But I will say this: for God's love beware where you marry; choose your wife in a faithful stock. Beware of this worldly policy; marry in God: marry not for the great respect of alliance, for thereof cometh all these evils of breaking of wedlock, which is among princes and noblemen. And here I would be a suitor unto your majesty; for I come now rather to be a suitor and a petitioner, than a preacher; for I come now to take my leave, and to take my *ultimum vale*, at leastwise in this place; for I have not long to live, so that I think I shall never come here into this place again; and therefore I will ask a petition of your highness. For the love of God, take an order for marriages here in England. For here is marriage for pleasure and voluptuousness, and for goods; and so that they may join land to land, and possessions to possessions: they care for no more here in England. And that is the cause of so much adultery, and of so much breach of wedlock in the noblemen and gentlemen, and so much divorcing. And it is not now in the noblemen only, but it is come now to the inferior sort. Every man, if he have but a small cause, will cast off his old wife, and take a new, and will marry again at his pleasure; and there be many that have so done. I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death; and that might be a remedy for all this matter.

There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is. For the love of God take heed to it, and see a remedy provided for it. I would wish that adultery should be punished with death; and that the woman being an offender, if her husband would be a suitor for her, she should be pardoned for the first time, but not for the second time: and the man, being an offender, should be pardoned if his wife be a suitor for him the first time, but not for the second time, if he offend twice. If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished: it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter; for lechery is a great sin: Sodome and Gomorre was destroyed for it. And it was one of the sins reigning in Ninive, for which it should have been destroyed. But think you that lechery was alone? No, no, coveteousness was joined with it. Covetousness followeth lechery, and commonly they go together. For why? They that be given to voluptuousness, and to the vice of lechery, must have wherewith to maintain it; and that must be gotten by covetousness. For at the first when men fell to sin, and chiefly to lechery, wherefore the world should be destroyed, the book saith, "There were giants in the earth in those days: and after that the sons of God had come to the daughters of men, and there had engendered with them, the same became mighty men of the world, and men of renown," &c. This is covetousness; for the book saith, *Terra erat repleta iniquitate*, "The earth was replete with iniquity;" for they oppressed the poor. They made them slaves, peasants, villains, and bond-men unto them. These were giants, so called of the property of giants, for they oppress the weak, and take from them what they list by force, violence, and oppression. They were giants of the property of giants, not that they were greater men of stature and strength of body than other men were. For certain writers speaking of this matter say, that they were giants for their cruelty and covetous oppression, and not in stature or procerity of body. For there is no reason why Seth's children could beget on Cain's daughters greater men than others were in stature of body. But they were giants in

the property of giants, for oppressing of others by force and violence. And this was covetousness, wherewith God was so displeased, that he repented that he had made men, and resolved utterly to destroy the world; and so called to Noe, and told him of it. "And I will not dispute the matter with them," saith God, "from day to day, and never the near; but if they will not amend within an hundred and twenty years, I shall bring in an universal flood over their ears, and destroy them all." This was preached by Noe to them; and so that God of his goodness, patience, and long-sufferance, gave them a time to repent and amend after his threatenings, because they should see their evil doings, and return to God. So they had an hundred and twenty years to repent. This Noe was laughed to scorn; they, like dodipoles, laughed their godly father to scorn.

Well, ye think little of the history: if ye will know the meaning of it, it is a great shew what anger God hath to sin. But how long time hast thou, England, thou England? I cannot tell, for God hath not revealed it unto me; if he had, so God help me, I would tell you of it; I would not be afraid, nor spare to tell it you, for the good-will I bear you: but I cannot tell how long time ye have, for God hath not opened it unto me. But I can tell you, that this lenity, this long forbearing and holding of his hand, provoketh us to repent and amend. And I can tell, that whosoever contemneth this riches and treasure of God's goodness, of his mercy, his patience and long-suffering, shall have the more grievous condemnation. This I can tell well enough; Paul telleth me this: and I can tell that ye have time to repent as long as you live here in this world; but after this life I can make no warrant of any further time to repent. Therefore repent and amend while ye be here; for when ye are gone hence, ye are past that. But how long that shall be, whether to-morrow or the next day, or twenty years, or how long, I cannot tell. But in the mean time ye have many Jonases to tell you of your faults, and to declare unto you God's threatenings, except ye repent and amend.

Therefore, to return to my matter, I say as I said at the beginning, *Videte et cavete ab avaritia*. *Videte*, "see it:" first see it, and then amend it. For I promise you, great complaint there is of it, and much crying out, and much preaching, but none amendment that I see. But *cavete ab avaritia*, "Beware of covetousness." And why of covetous-

ness? *Quia radix est omnium malorum avaritia et cupiditas*, "For covetousness is the root of all evil and of all mischief." This saying of Paul took me away from the gospel that is read in the church this day, and it took me from the epistle, that I would preach upon neither of them both at this time. I cannot tell what ailed me; but (to tell you my imperfection) when I was appointed to preach here, I was new come out of a sickness, whereof I looked to have died, and weak I was: yet nevertheless, when I was appointed unto it, I took it upon me, howbeit I repented afterward that I had so done. I was displeased with myself: I was testy, as Jonas was when he should go preach to the Ninivites. Well, I looked on the gospel that is read this day: but it liked me not. I looked on the epistle: tush, I could not away with that neither. And yet I remember I had preached upon this epistle once afore king Henry the Eighth; but now I could not frame with it, nor it liked me not in no sauce. Well, this saying of Paul came into my mind, and at last I considered and weighed the matter deeply, and then thought I thus with myself: Is covetousness the root of all mischief and of all evil? Then have at the root, and down with all covetousness. So this place of Paul brought me to this text of Luke, "See and beware of covetousness." Therefore, you preachers, out with your swords and strike at the root. Speak against covetousness, and cry out upon it. Stand not ticking and toying at the branches nor at the boughs, for then there will new boughs and branches spring again of them; but strike at the root, and fear not these giants of England, these great men and men of power, these men that are oppressors of the poor; fear them not, but strike at the root of all evil, which is mischievous covetousness. For covetousness is the cause of rebellion. I have forgotten my logic, but yet I can jumble at a syllogism, and make an argument of it, to prove it by. Covetousness is the root of all evil: rebellion is an evil: *ergo*, covetousness is the root of rebellion. And so it was indeed. Covetousness was the cause of rebellion this last summer[1]; and both parties had covetousness, as well the gentlemen as the commons. Both parties had covetousness, for both parties had an inordinate desire to have that they had not: and that is covetousness, an inordinate desire to have that one hath not.

[1] The rebellions in Norfolk and Devon.

The commons would have had from the gentlemen such things as they desired: the gentlemen would none of it; and so was there covetousness on both sides. The commons thought they had a right to the things that they inordinately sought to have. But what then? They must not come to it that way. Now on the other side, the gentlemen had a desire to keep that they had, and so they rebelled too against the king's commandment, and against such good order as he and his council would have set in the realm. And thus both parties had covetousness, and both parties did rebel. I heard say that there were godly ordinances devised for the redress of it. But the giants would none of it in no sauce. I remember mine ownself a certain giant, a great man, who sat in commission about such matters; and when the townsmen should bring in what had been inclosed, he frowned and chafed, and so near looked, and threatened the poor men, that they durst not ask their right.

I read of late in an Act of Parliament; and this act made mention of an Act that was in king Henry's days, the third I trow it was; yea, and such another business there was in king Edward's time, the second also. In this Parliament that I speak of, the gentlemen and the commons were at variance, as they were now of late. And there the gentlemen that were landlords would needs have away much lands from their tenants; and would needs have an Act of Parliament, that it might be lawful for them to inclose and make several from their tenants, and from the commons, such portions of their lands as they thought good. Much ado there was about this Act: at last it was concluded and granted that they might so do; provided alway, that they should leave sufficient to the tenant. Well; it was well that they were bound to leave sufficient for them. But who should be the judge to limit what was sufficient for them? Or who shall now judge what is sufficient? Well; I for my part cannot tell what is sufficient. But methought it was well that the tenants and poor commons should have sufficient. For if they had sufficient, thought I, they had cause to be quiet. And then fell I to make this argument within myself: if at that time it were put in their will and power that they might inclose, leaving to the tenant that were sufficient for him; if they had it then in their power, thought I, that they might this do, they would leave no more than sufficient. If they left to the tenants and poor commons no more in those days

but sufficient; then if they had any more taken from them since that time, then had they now not sufficient.

They in Christ are equal with you. Peers of the realm must needs be. The poorest ploughman is in Christ equal with the greatest prince that is. Let them, therefore, have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessaries. A plough-land must have sheep; yea, they must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn; for if they have no sheep to help to fat the ground, they shall have but bare corn and thin. They must have swine for their food, to make their veneries or bacon of: their bacon is their venison, for they shall now have *hangum tuum*, if they get any other venison; so that bacon is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle: as horses to draw their plough, and for carriage of things to the markets; and kine for their milk and cheese, which they must live upon and pay their rents. These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack, the rest must needs fail them: and pasture they cannot have, if the land be taken in, and inclosed from them. So, as I said, there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore, for God's love, restore their sufficient unto them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion. But see and "beware of covetousness;" for covetousness is the cause of rebellion. Well now, if covetousness be the cause of rebellion, then preaching against covetousness is not the cause of rebellion. Some say, that the preaching now-a-days is the cause of all sedition and rebellion: for since this new preaching hath come in, there hath been much sedition; and therefore it must needs be that the preaching is the cause of rebellion here in England. Forsooth, our preaching is the cause of rebellion, much like as Christ was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem. For, saith Christ, *Si non venissem et locutus fuissem eis, peccatum non haberent*, &c. "If I had not come," saith Christ, "and spoken to them, they should have no sin." So we preachers have come and spoken to you: we have drawn our swords of God's word, and stricken at the roots of all evil to have them cut down; and if ye will not amend, what can we do more? And preaching is the cause of sedition here in England, much like as Elias was the cause of trouble in Israel; for he was a preacher there, and told the people of all degrees their faults, and so they winced and kicked at him, and accused him to Achab the king, that he was a seditious fellow, and a troublous

preacher, and made much uproar in the realm. So the king sent for him, and he was brought to Achab the king, who said unto him, "Art thou he that troubleth all Israel?" And Elias answered, and said, "Nay, thou and thy father's house are they that trouble all Israel." Elias had preached God's word; he had plainly told the people of their evil doings; he had shewed them God's threatenings. In God's behalf I speak: there is neither king, nor emperor, be they never in so great estate, but they are subject to God's word; and therefore he was not afraid to say to Achab, "It is thou and thy father's house that causeth all the trouble in Israel." Was not this presumptuously spoken to a king? Was not this a seditious fellow? Was not this fellow's preaching a cause of all the trouble in Israel? Was he not worthy to be cast in Bocardo or Little-ease? No, but he had used God's sword, which is his word, and done nothing else that was evil; but they could not abide it. He never disobeyed Achab's sword, which was the regal power: but Achab disobeyed his sword, which was the word of God. And therefore by the punishment of God much trouble arose in the realm for the sins of Achab and the people. But God's preacher, God's prophet, was not the cause of the trouble. Then is it not we preachers that trouble England.

But here is now an argument to prove the matter against the preachers. Here was preaching against covetousness all the last year in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion; *ergo*, preaching against covetousness was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument! Here now I remember an argument of Master More's, which he bringeth in a book that he made against Bilney: and here by the way I will tell you a merry toy. Master More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to try out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin sands, and the shelf that stopped up Sandwich haven. Thither cometh Master More, and calleth the country afore him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich haven. Among others came in before him an old man, with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter; for, being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So

Master More called this old aged man unto him, and said: "Father," said he, "tell me, if ye can, what is the cause of this great arising of the sands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up that no ships can arrive here? Ye are the eldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, ye of likelihood can say most in it; or at leastwise more than any other man here assembled." "Yea, forsooth, good master," quoth this old man, "for I am well-nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company any thing near unto mine age." "Well then," quoth Master More, "how say you in this matter? What think ye to be the cause of these shelves and flats that stop up Sandwich haven?" "Forsooth, sir," quoth he, "I am an old man; I think that Tenterton steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands. For I am an old man, sir," quoth he, "and I may remember the building of Tenterton steeple; and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenterton steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven; and therefore I think that Tenterton steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich haven." And even so, to my purpose, is preaching of God's word the cause of rebellion, as Tenterton steeple was cause Sandwich haven is decayed. And is not this a gay matter, that such should be taken for great wise men that will thus reason against the preacher of God's word?

But here I would take an occasion by the way of a digression to speak somewhat to my sisters, the women, to do them some good too; because I would do all folks good if I could, before I take my *ultimum vale*, at leastwise here of this place: for I think I shall no more come here; for I think I have not long to live; so that I judge I take my leave now of the court for ever, and shall no more come in of this place. Achab was a king, but Jesabel, Jesabel she was the perilous woman. She would rule her husband, the king; she would bear a stroke in all things, and she would order matters as pleased her. And so will many women do; they will rule their husbands, and do all things after their own minds. They do therein against the order by God appointed them: they break their injunction that God gave unto them. Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean men's wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether

their husbands will or no. But they break their injunction, and do therein contrary to God's ordinance. God saith, *Subdita eris sub potestate viri;* "Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband." Thou shalt be subject. Women are subjects; ye be subjects to your husbands. At the first, the man and the woman were equal. But after that she had given credit to the serpent, then she had an injunction set upon her: *Subdita eris sub potestate viri*, "Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband." And as for one part of her injunction she taketh; and she taketh one part of her penance, because she cannot avoid it, and that is, *In dolore paries*, "Thou shalt bring forth children with pain and travail." This part of their injunction they take, and yet is the same so grievous, that Chrysostom saith, if it were not for the ordinance of God, which cannot be made frustrate by man, they would never come to it again for no worldly good. But God hath provided herein: and as Christ saith in the gospel, *Mulier cum parit tristitiam habet, &c.*, "The woman when she beareth a child hath sorrow, but afterward she remembereth not the pain, because there is a soul brought forth into the world." But as it is a part of your penance, ye women, to travail in bearing your children; so it is a part of your penance to be subjects unto your husbands: ye are underlings, underlings, and must be obedient. But this is now made a trifle and a small matter: and yet it is a sad matter, a godly matter, a ghostly matter, a matter of damnation and salvation. And Paul saith, that "a woman ought to have a power on her head." What is this, "to have a power on her head?" It is a manner of speaking of the scripture; and to have her power on her head, is to have a sign and token of power, which is by covering of her head, declaring that she hath a superior above her, by whom she ought to be ruled and ordered: for she is not immediately under God, but mediately. For by their injunction, the husband is their head under God, and they subjects unto their husbands. But this "power" that some of them have is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it. And when they make them ready and come to the covering of their head, they will call and say, "Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet, or my cap;" and so forth. I would wish that the women would call the covering of their heads by the terms of the scripture: as when she

would have her cap, I would she would say, "Give me my power." I would they would learn to speak as the Holy Ghost speaketh, and call it by such a name as St Paul doth. I would they would (as they have much pricking [1]), when they put on their cap, I would they would have this meditation: "I am now putting on my power upon my head." If they had this thought in their minds, they would not make so much pricking up of themselves as they do now-a-days. But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our power from Turkey, of velvet, and gay it must be; far fetched, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign. I had rather have a true English sign, than a false sign from Turkey. It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the power as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open. I would marvel of it, how it should come to be so abused, and so far out of order; saving that I know by experience that many will not be ruled by their husbands, as they ought to be. I have been desired to exhort some, and with some I could do little in that matter. But there be now many Adams that will not displease their wives, but will in this behalf let them have all their own minds, and do as them listeth. And some others again there be now-a-days that will defend it, and say it may be suffered well enough, because it is not expressed in scripture, nor spoken of by name. Though we have not express mention in scripture against such laying of the hair in tussocks and tufts, yet we have in scripture express mention *de tortis crinibus*, of wreathen hair; that is, for the nonce forced to curl. But of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days there is no mention made in scripture, because they were not used in scripture-time. They were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tufts. But I will tell thee, if thou wilt needs lay it out, or if thou wilt needs shew thy hair, and have it seen, go and poll thy head, or round it, as men do; for to what purpose is it to pull it out so, and to lay it out? Some do it, say they, of a simplicity: some do it of a pride; and some of other causes. But they do it because they will be quarter-master with their husbands. Quarter-masters? Nay, half-masters; yea, some of them will be whole masters, and rule the roast as they list themselves.

[1] Dressing for shew, making a parade.

But these defenders of it will not have it evil, because it is not spoken of in scripture. But there be other things as evil as this, which are not spoken of in scripture expressly; but they are implied in scripture, as well as though they were expressly spoken of. For the prophet Isaiah saith: *Væ qui consurgitis mane ad comessandum, ad ebrietatem sectandam et potando usque ad vesperam, ut vino æstuetis.* "Wo unto you that arise early in the morning, and go to drinking until night, that ye may swim in wine." This is the scripture against banqueting and drunkenness. But now they banquet all night, and lie a-bed in the day-time till noon, and the scripture speaketh nothing of that. But what then? The devil hath his purpose this way, as well as the other: he hath his purpose as well by revelling and keeping ill rule all night, as by rising early in the morning and banqueting all day. So the devil hath his purpose both ways. Ye noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keep. For God's sake, hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you, that ye lie a-bed till eight, or nine, or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over-night; whether in banqueting, or dicing, or carding, or how it is; but in the morning when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal: they are kept sometimes without your gates, or if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, "Sir, ye cannot speak with my lord yet; my lord is asleep; or he hath had business of the king's all night," &c. And thus poor suitors are driven off from day to day, that they cannot speak with you in three, or four days, yea, a whole month: what shall I say more? yea, a whole year sometimes, ere they can come to your speech, to be heard of you. For God's love look better to it. Speak with poor men when they come to your houses; and despatch poor suitors, as indeed some noblemen do; and would Christ that all noblemen would so do! But some do. I went one day myself betime in the morning to a great man's house to speak with him in business that I had of mine own. And methought I was up betimes; but when I came thither, the great man was gone forth about such affairs as behoved him, or I came. Well; yet, thought I, this is well, I like this well: this man doth somewhat regard and consider his office and duty. I came too late for mine own matter, and lost my journey, and my early rising too: and yet I was glad that I had been so

beguiled. For God's love follow this example, ye great men, and arise in the mornings, and be ready for men to speak with them, and to despatch suitors that resort unto you. But all these I bring to disprove them that defend evil things, because they be not expressly spoken against in the scripture. But what forceth that, when the devil hath his purpose, and is served as well one way as another way? Though it be not expressly spoken against in scripture, yet I reckon it plainly enough implied in the scripture.

But now to come to my matter again: *Videte et cavete ab avaritia;* "See and beware of covetousness:" and I shall desire you to consider four things: *Quis dicat; quid dicat; cui dicat; et quare dicat:* "Who speaketh it; what he speaketh; to whom he speaketh; and wherefore he speaketh it." As here, Christ speaketh to a rich man against avarice. And why against avarice? What shall be the end of all covetous persons? Eternal damnation. "For the covetous persons," saith Paul, "shall not possess nor enter into the kingdom of God." Here therefore I shall desire you to pray, &c.

The Second Part of the Sermon.

Videte et cavete ab avaritia.

See and beware of covetousness.

First, who spake these words? Forsooth, Christ spake them. If I had spoken them of myself, it had been little worth; but Christ spake them, and upon a good occasion. The story is, *Duo litigabant inter se*, "There were two at strife between themselves;" and by this it appeareth that Christ spake them. Well, Christ spake these words at that time; and now he speaketh them by his preacher, whom ye ought to believe; and so it is all one. But upon what occasion did he speak it? There were two brethren at strife together for lands, wealthy men, as it appeareth, and the rich fellow would not tarry till Christ had ended his sermon, but interrupted it, and would needs have his matter despatched by and by. He was at Christ's sermon, but yet he would not defer his worldly cause till Christ had made an end of his godly exhortation. This was a thorny brother;

he was a gospeller; he was a carnal gospeller (as many be now-a-days for a piece of an abbey, or for a portion of chantry-lands) to get somewhat by it, and to serve his commodity. He was a gospeller; one of the new brethren; somewhat worse than a rank papist. Howbeit, a rank papist now-a-days shall sooner have promotion than a true gospeller shall have: the more is the pity. But this was a thorny gospeller: he heard Christ's preaching and followed him for company, and heard his words; but he was never the better for it; but the care of the world so choked the word of God in him, that he could not hear the sermon to the end, but interrupted the sermon for his worldly matter, ere it were all done. And what was Christ then doing? Forsooth he was sowing of good seed, but it fell upon stony ground, so that it could not take any root in this fellow, to bring forth good fruit in him. And let me tell you of the seed that Christ was then sowing: bear with me awhile; and seeing that I come now to take my *ultimum vale* of this place, hear me patiently, and give me leave a little while, and let me take my leave honestly. At the time when this fellow interrupted Christ's sermon, he was preaching a long sermon to his disciples, and to the people, being gathered together in a wonderful great multitude, as appeareth in the twelfth chapter of St Luke's gospel: and there he first of all taught his disciples a good lesson, saying, *Cavete vobis a fermento Pharisæorum:* "Beware in any wise," saith he, "of the leaven of the Pharisees." What is this leaven of the Pharisees? Leaven is sometimes taken for corrupt living, which infecteth others by the evil example thereof; and against such corrupt living God's preacher must cry out earnestly, and never cease till it be rooted up. In the city of Corinth one had married his step-mother, his father's wife: and he was a jolly fellow, a great rich man, an alderman of the city; and therefore they winked at it, they would not meddle in the matter, they had nothing to do with it: and he was one of the head men, of such rule and authority, that they durst not, many of them. But St Paul, hearing of the matter, writ unto them, and in God's behalf charged them to do away such abomination from among them. St Paul would not leave them till he had excommunicated the wicked doer of such abomination. If we should now excommunicate all such wicked doers, there would be much ado in England. Ye that are magistrates shew favour for affection to such,

and will not suffer they may be rooted out or put to shame. Oh, he is such a man's servant, we may not do him any shame. Oh, he is a gentleman, &c. And so the thing is not now any thing looked unto. Lechery is used throughout England, and such lechery as is used in none other place of the world. And yet it is made a matter of sport, a matter of nothing; a laughing matter, and a trifle; not to be passed on, nor to be reformed. But beware, ye that are magistrates: their sin doth leaven you all. Therefore for God's love beware of this leaven. Well, I trust it will be one day amended. I look not to live long, and yet I trust, as old as I am, to live so long as to see lechery punished. I would wish that Moses's law were restored for punishment of lechery, and that the offenders therein might be punished according to the prescription of Moses's law. And here I will make a suit to your Highness to restore unto the church the discipline of Christ, in excommunicating such as be notable offenders; nor never devise any other way. For no man is able to devise a better way than God hath done, which is excommunication, to put them from the congregation till they be confounded. Therefore restore Christ's discipline for excommunication; and that shall be a means both to pacify God's wrath and indignation against us; and also, that less abomination shall be used than in times past hath been, and is at this day. I speak this of a conscience, and I mean and move it of a good-will to your grace and your realm. Bring into the church of England open discipline of excommunication, that open sinners may be stricken withal.

Sometimes leaven is taken for corrupt doctrine: and so it is here taken in this place, when he saith, "Beware of the leaven of the pharisees." For Christ intended to make his disciples teachers of all the world, and therefore to beware of corrupt doctrine. And that that he said to them, he saith also to us; receive no corrupt doctrine, no mingle-mangle; yet there be leaveners yet still, and mingle-manglers that have soured Christ's doctrine with the leaven of the Pharisees. Yea, and where there is any piece of leaven, they will maintain that one piece, more than all the doctrine of Christ; and about that purpose they occupy and bestow all their wits. This was the first seed.

The second seed was, *Nihil occultum, quod non revelabitur*; "There is nothing privy or hidden that shall not be revealed and opened." It pertaineth all to one purpose: for

there he taught his disciples to beware of the leaven, which was hypocrisy; declaring unto them, that hypocrisy would not be always hidden, but such as were not sincere should be known at the last day, and all that was taught should at length be known. It hath also another meaning, for it is God's proverb, "There is nothing so privy but it shall be opened;" at leastwise in the great day of reckoning, in the dreadful day of general account, in the day of revelation: then shall it be openly known, whatsoever is done, be it never so privily done. These fellows that have their fetches and their far compasses to bring things to their purposes, work they never so privily, never so covertly, yet at the last day their doings shall be openly revealed, *usque ad satietatem visionis*, saith the prophet Esay, till all the world shall see it, to their shame and confusion that are the doers of it. As the prophet Jeremy saith, *Sicut confunditur fur qui deprehenditur*, "Even as a thief that is taken with the manner when he stealeth, so shall sinners be openly confounded, and their evil doings opened." Yea, and though it be not known in this world, yet it shall be known at the last day to their damnation. Indeed God hath verified his proverb from time to time, "Nothing is so privy the which shall not be revealed." When Cain had killed his brother Abel, he thought he had conveyed the matter so privily and so closely, that it should never have been known nor have come to light: but first, God knew it well enough, and called unto him saying, "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?" But he thought he could have beguiled God too; and therefore he answered, "I cannot tell." "What," quoth Cain, "am I set to keep my brother? I cannot tell where he is." But at last he was confounded, and his murder brought to light; and now all the world readeth it in the bible. Joseph's brethren had sold him away; they took his motley coat and besprinkled it over and over with blood; they thought all was cock-sure; they had conveyed the matter so secretly, that they thought all the world could never have espied it. And yet out it came to their great benefit. And now it is known to us all, as many as can read the bible. David saw a fair woman wash her naked. Then he was straightway ravished, he was clean gone by, and would needs have her. He sent for her; yea, he had gentlemen of his chamber about him, that went for her by and by and fetched her.

And here I have another suit to your Highness. When you come to age, beware what persons ye have about you: for if ye be set on pleasure, or disposed to wantonness, ye shall have ministers enough to be furtherers and instruments of it. But David, by his wisdom and policy, thought so to have cloked the matter, that it should never have been known. He sent for her husband Uriah, and shewed him a fair countenance, and looked merrily on him, and sent him forth to war, that he might do his pleasure with Berseba afterward; and he thought he had wrought wondrous privily. He thought all the matter cock-sure. But the prophet of God, Nathan, came and laid his fault plain before his face; and who is now that knoweth it not?

Elizeus' servant, Giezi, a bribing brother, he came colourably to Naaman the Syrian: he feigned a tale of his master Elizeus, as all bribers will do, and told him that his master had need of this and that, and took of Naaman certain things, and bribed it away to his own behoof secretly, and thought that it should never have come out; but Elizeus knew it well enough. The servant had his bribes that he sought, yet was he stricken with the leper, and so openly shamed.

Think on this, ye that are bribers, when ye go so secretly about such things: have this in your minds, when ye devise your secret fetches and conveyances, how Elizeus' servant was served, and was openly known. For God's proverb will be true, "There is nothing hidden that will not be revealed." He that took the silver basin and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out: but he may now know that I know it; and I know it not alone, there be more beside me that know it. Oh briber and bribery! he was never a good man that will so take bribes. Nor I can never believe that he that is a briber shall be a good justice. It will never be merry in England, till we have the skins of such. For what needeth bribing, where men do their things uprightly, as for men that are officers, and have a matter of charge in their hands?

But now I will play St Paul, and translate the thing on myself. I will become the king's officer for awhile. I have to lay out for the king twenty thousand pounds, or a great sum, whatsoever it be: well, when I have laid it out, and do bring in mine account, I must give three hundred marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me to give a penny to have my bills

warranted? If I have done my office truly, and do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given? yea, one groat, for warranting of my bills? Smell ye nothing in this? What needeth any bribes-giving, except the bills be false? No man giveth bribes for warranting of his bills, except they be false bills. Well, such practice hath been in England, but beware; it will out one day: beware of God's proverb, "There is nothing hidden that shall not be opened;" yea, even in this world, if ye be not the children of damnation. And here now I speak to you, my masters, minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors, and auditors: I make a petition unto you; I beseech you all be good to the king. He hath been good to you, therefore be good to him: yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are known well enough, what ye were afore ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well, I pray you so build, that the king's workmen may be paid. They make their moan that they can get no money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powdermen, bow-makers, arrow- makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts, cry out for their duties. They be unpaid, some of them, three or four months: yea, some of them half a year: yea, some of them put up bills this time twelve months for their money, and cannot be paid yet. They cry out for their money, and, as the prophet saith, *Clamor operariorum ascendit ad aures meas;* "The cry of the workmen is come up to mine ears." O, for God's love, let the workmen be paid, if there be money enough; or else there will whole showers of God's vengeance rain down upon your heads! Therefore, ye minters, and ye augmentationers, serve the king truly. So build and purchase, that the king may have money to pay his workmen. It seemeth evil-favouredly, that ye should have enough wherewith to build superfluously, and the king lack to pay his poor labourers. Well, yet I doubt not but that there be some good officers. But I will not swear for all.

I have now preached three Lents. The first time I preached restitution. "Restitution," quoth some, "what should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition," quoth they, "and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution." Then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Now choose thee either restitution or else endless damnation. But now there be

two manner of restitutions; secret restitution, and open restitution: whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one good man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the king; and willing he was to make restitution: and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the king's use. I was promised twenty pound more the same Lent, but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more. I received it myself, and paid it to the king's council. So I was asked, what he was that made this restitution? But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have this wesant [1] of mine. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and fourscore pounds ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the king's council: and so this man hath made a godly restitution. "And so," quoth I to a certain nobleman that is one of the king's council, "if every man that hath beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the king twenty thousand pounds, I think," quoth I. "Yea, that it would," quoth the other, "a whole hundred thousand pounds." Alack, alack; make restitution; for God's sake make restitution: ye will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy, but restitution open or secret; or else hell.

This that I have now told you of was a secret restitution. Some examples hath been of open restitution, and glad may he be that God was so friendly unto him, to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him; it was Master Sherington, an honest gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confessed that he had deceived the king, and he made open restitution. Oh, what an argument may he have against the devil, when he shall move him to desperation! God brought this out to his amendment. It is a token that he is a chosen man of God, and one of his elected. If he be of God, he shall be brought to it; therefore for God's sake make restitution, or else remember God's proverb; "There is nothing so secret," &c. If you do either of these two in this world, then are ye of God; if not, then for lack of restitution, ye shall have eternal damnation. Ye may do it by means, if you dare not do it yourselves; bring it to another, and so make restitution. If ye be not of God's flock,

[1] Wind-pipe.

it shall be brought out to your shame and damnation at the last day; when all evil men's sins shall be laid open before us. Yet there is one way, how all our sins may be hidden, which is, repent and amend. *Recipiscentia, recipiscentia*, repenting and amending is a sure remedy, and a sure way to hide all, that it shall not come out to our shame and confusion.

Yet there was another seed that Christ was sowing in that sermon of his; and this was the seed: "I say to you, my friends, fear not him that killeth the body, but fear him that after he hath killed, hath power also to cast into hell-fire," &c. And there, to put his disciples in comfort and sure hope of his help, and out of all doubt and mistrust of his assistance, he bringeth in unto them the example of the sparrows, how they are fed by God's mere providence and goodness; and also of the hairs of our heads, how that not so much as one hair falleth from our heads without him. "Fear him," saith he, "that when he hath killed the body, may also cast into hell-fire." Matter for all kinds of people here, but specially for kings. And, therefore, here is another suit to your Highness. "Fear not him that killeth the body." Fear not these foreign princes and foreign powers. God shall make you strong enough. Stick to God: fear God, fear not them. God hath sent you many storms in your youth; but forsake not God, and he will not forsake you. Peradventure ye shall have that shall move you, and say unto you, "Oh, Sir! Oh, such a one is a great man, he is a mighty prince, a king of great power, ye cannot be without his friendship, agree with him in religion, or else ye shall have him your enemy," &c. Well, fear them not, but cleave to God, and he shall defend you. Do not as king Ahaz did, that was afraid of the Assyrian king, and for fear lest he should have him to his enemy, was content to forsake God, and to agree with him in religion and worshipping of God: and anon sent to Urias the high priest, who was ready at once to set up the idolatry of the Assyrian king. Do not your Highness so: fear not the best of them all; but fear God. The same Urias was *capellanus ad manum*, "a chaplain at hand," an elbow chaplain. If ye will turn, ye shall have that will turn with you; yea, even in their white rochets. But follow not Ahaz. Remember the hair, how it falleth not without God's providence. Remember the sparrows, how they build in every house, and God provideth for them. "And ye are much more precious to me," saith Christ, "than

sparrows or other birds." God will defend you; that before your time cometh, ye shall not die nor miscarry.

On a time when Christ was going to Jerusalem, his disciples said unto him, "They there would have stoned thee, and wilt thou now go thither again?" What saith he again to them? *Nonne duodecim sunt horæ die*, &c., "Be there not twelve hours in the day?" saith he: God hath appointed his times, as pleaseth him; and before the time cometh that God hath appointed, they shall have no power against you. Therefore stick to God and forsake him not; but fear him, and fear not men. And beware chiefly of two affections, fear and love: fear, as Ahaz, of whom I have told you, that for fear of the Assyrian king he changed his religion, and thereby purchased God's high indignation to him and to his realm; and love, as Dina, Jacob's daughter, who caused a change of religion by Sichem and Hemor, who were contented for lust of a wife to the destruction and spoiling of all the whole city. Read the chronicles of England and France, and ye shall see what changes of religion hath come by marriages, and for marriages. "Marry my daughter, and be baptized, and so forth, or else." Fear them not. Remember the sparrows. And this rule should all estates and degrees of men follow; whereas now they fear men and not God. If there be a judgment between a great man and a poor man, then must there be a corruption of justice for fear. "Oh, he is a great man, I dare not displease him." Fie upon thee! art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not, be he never so great a man; but uprightly do true justice. Likewise some pastors go from their cure; they are afraid of the plague, they dare not come nigh any sick body, but hire others; and they go away themselves. Out upon thee! The wolf cometh upon thy flock to devour them, and when they have most need of thee thou runnest away from them! The soldier also, that should go on warfare, he will draw back as much as he can. "Oh, I shall be slain! Oh, such and such went, and never came home again. Such men went the last year into Norfolk, and were slain there." Thus they are afraid to go: they will labour to tarry at home. If the king command thee to go, thou art bound to go; and serving the king thou servest God. If thou serve God, he will not shorten thy days to thine hurt. "Well," saith some, "if they had not gone, they had lived unto this day." How knowest thou that?

Who made thee so privy of God's counsel? Follow thou thy vocation, and serve the king when he calleth thee. In serving him thou shalt serve God; and till thy time come, thou shalt not die. It was marvel that Jonas escaped in such a city: what then? Yet God preserved him, so that he could not perish. Take therefore an example of Jonas, and every man follow his vocation, not fearing men, but fearing God.

Another seed that Christ was sowing in the sermon was this: *Qui confessus me fuerit hominibus, confitebor et ego illum coram Patre meo;* "He that confesseth me before men, I shall also confess him before my Father." We must confess him with mouth. It was of a bishop not long ago asked as touching this: "Laws," saith he, "must be obeyed, and civil ordinance I will follow outwardly; but my heart in religion is free to think as I will." So said Friar Forest, half a papist, yea, worse than a whole papist.

Well, another seed was, "He that sinneth against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come." What is this same sin against the Holy Ghost, an horrible sin that never shall be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come? What is this sin? Final impenitency: and some say, impugning of the truth. One came to me once, that despaired because of sin against the Holy Ghost. He was sore troubled in his conscience, that he should be damned; and that it was not possible for him to be saved, because he had sinned against the Holy Ghost. I said to him, "What, man," quoth I, "comfort yourself in these words of the apostle, *Christus est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris:* and again; *Ideo me misit Pater in mundum, ut qui credit in me non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam;* 'My Father hath for this purpose sent me into the world, that he which believeth in me may not perish, but may have the life everlasting.' Also, *Quacunque hora ingemuerit peccator salvus erit;* 'In what hour soever the sinner shall mourn for sin, he shall be saved.'" I had scriptures enough for me, as methought; but say what I could say, he could say more against himself, than I could say at that time to do him good withal. Where some say that the sin against the Holy Ghost is original sin; I alleged against that the saying of St Paul, *Sicut per unius delictum,* &c., and *si quis egerit pœnitentiam;* "If a man had done all the sins in the world, and have true repentance, with faith and hope

in God's mercy, he shall be forgiven." But whatsoever I said, he could still object against me, and avoid my reasons. I was fain to make another day, and did so. "Let me go to my book," quoth I, "and go you to your prayers, for ye are not altogether without faith." I got me to my study; I read many doctors, but none could content me; no expositor could please me, nor satisfy my mind in the matter. And it is with me as it was with a scholar of Cambridge, who being demanded of his tutor how he understood his lesson, and what it meant, "I know," quoth he, "what it meaneth but I cannot tell it; I cannot express it." So I understood it well enough, but I cannot well declare it. Nevertheless I will bungle at it as well as I can.

Now to tell you, by the way, what sin it was that he had committed: he had fallen from the truth known, and afterward fell to mocking and scorning of it; and this sin it was that he thought to be unforgiveable. I said unto him, that it was a vehement manner of speaking in scripture; "Yet," quoth I, "this is not spoken universally; nor it is not meant that God doth never forgive it; but it is commonly called irremissible, unforgiveable, because that God doth seldom forgive it. But yet there is no sin so great but God may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart, though in words it sound that it shall never be forgiven: as, *privilegium paucorum non destruit regulam universalem*, The privilege of a few persons doth not destroy an universal rule or saying of scripture. For the scripture saith, *Omnes moriemur*, 'We shall die every one of us:' yet some shall be rapt and taken alive, as St Paul saith; for this privilege of a few doth not hurt a generality. An irremissible sin, an unexcusable sin; yet to him that will truly repent, it is forgiveable; in Christ it may be remitted. If there be no more but one man forgiven, ye may be that same one man that shall be forgiven: *Ubi abundavit delictum, ibi abundavit et gratia;* 'Where iniquity hath abounded, there shall grace abound.'" Thus by little and little this man came to a settled conscience again, and took comfort in Christ's mercy. Therefore despair not, though it be said it shall never be forgiven. Where Cain said, "My wickedness is so great that God cannot forgive it;" Nay, thou liest, saith Austin to Cain, *Major est Dei misericordia, quam iniquitas tua;* "The mercy of God is greater than thine iniquity." Therefore despair not; but this one thing I say: beware of this sin that ye fall not

into it; for I have known no more but this one man, that hath fallen from the truth, and hath afterward repented and come to grace again. I have known many since God hath opened mine eyes to see a little; I have known many, I say, that knew more than I, and some whom I have honoured, that have afterwards fallen from the truth; but never one of them, this man except, that have returned to grace and to the truth again. But yet, though God doth very seldom forgive this sin, and although it be one of the sins that God doth hate most of all others, and such as is almost never forgiven, yet it is forgiveable in the blood of Christ, if one truly repent; and lo! it is universal. As there is also another scripture, *Væ terræ cujus rex puer est*, "Wo be to the land, to the realm whose king is a child;" which some interpret and refer to childish conditions: but it is commonly true the other way too, when it is referred to the age and years of childhood. For where the king is within age, they that have governance about the king have much liberty to live voluptuously and licentiously; and not to be in fear how they govern, as they would be if the king were of full age; and then commonly they govern not well. But yet Josias and one or two more, though they were children, yet had their realms well governed, and reigned prosperously; and yet the saying, *Væ terræ cujus rex puer est*, is nevertheless true for all that. And this I gather of this irremissible sin against the Holy Ghost, that the scripture saith it is never forgiven, because it is seldom forgiven. For indeed I think that there is no sin, which God doth so seldom nor so hardly forgive, as this sin of falling away from the truth, after that a man once knoweth it. And indeed this took best place with the man that I have told you of, and best quieted his conscience.

Another seed was this: "Be not careful," saith Christ, "what ye shall say before judge and magistrates, when ye are brought afore them for my name's sake; for the Holy Ghost shall put in your minds, even at that present hour, what ye shall speak." A comfortable saying, and a goodly promise of the Holy Ghost, that "the adversaries of the truth," saith he, "shall not be able to resist us." What? shall the adversaries of the truth be dumb? Nay; there be no greater talkers, nor boasters, and facers than they be. But they shall not be able to resist the truth to destroy it.

Here some will say, "What needeth universities then, and the preservation of schools? The Holy Ghost will give

always what to say." Yea, but for all that we may not tempt God; we must trust in the Holy Ghost, but we must not presume on the Holy Ghost. Here now should I speak of universities, and for preferring of schools: but he that preached the last Sunday spake very well in it, and substantially, and like one that knew the state and condition of the universities and schools very well. But thus much I say unto you, magistrates: if ye will not maintain schools and universities, ye shall have a brutality. Therefore now a suit again to your Highness. So order the matter, that preaching may not decay: for surely, if preaching decay, ignorance and brutishness will enter again. Nor give the preachers' livings to secular men. What should the secular men do with the livings of preachers? I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years, and fewer preachers; and that is the cause of rebellion. If there were good bishops, there should be no rebellion.

I am now almost come to my matter, saving one saying of Christ which was another seed: *Date, et dabitur vobis;* "Give, and it shall be given unto you," &c. But who believeth this? If men believed this promise, they would give more than they do; and at leastwise they would not stick to give a little: but now-a-days men's study is set rather to take gifts, and to get of other men's goods, than to give any of their own. So all other the promises are mistrusted and unbelieved. For if the rich men did believe this promise of God, they would willingly and readily give a little to have the overplus. So where Christ saith of injuries, or offences and trespasses, *Mihi vindicta, et ego retribuam, &c.*, "Leave the avenging of wrongs alone unto me, and I shall pay them home," &c.: if the rebels had believed this promise, they would not have done as they did. So all the promises of God are mistrusted. Noah also after the flood feared at every rain lest the world should be drowned and destroyed again; till God gave the rainbow. And what exercise shall we have by the rainbow? We may learn by the rainbow, that God will be true of his promises, and will fulfil his promises. For God sent the rainbow; and four thousand years it is, and more, since this promise was made, and yet God hath been true of his promise unto this day: so that now when we see the rainbow, we may learn that God is true of his promise. And as God was true in this promise, so is he and will be in all the rest. But the covetous man doth not

believe that God is true of his promise; for if he did, he would not stick to give of his goods to the poor. But as touching that I spake afore, when we see the rainbow, and see in the rainbow that that is like water, and of a watery colour, and as we may and ought not only to take thereof hold and comfort of God's promise, that he will no more destroy the world with water for sin; but also we may take an example to fear God, who in such wise hateth sin: likewise when in the rainbow we see that it is of a fiery colour, and like unto fire, we may gather an example of the end of the world, that except we amend, the world shall at last be consumed with fire for sin; and to fear the judgment of God, after which they that are damned shall be burned in hell-fire. These were the seeds that Christ was sowing, when this covetous man came unto him.

And now I am come to my matter. While Christ was thus preaching, this covetous fellow would not tarry till all the sermon was done, but interrupted the sermon; even suddenly chopping in, "Master," quoth he, "speak to my brother, that he may divide the inheritance with me." He would not abide till the end of the sermon; but his mind was on his halfpenny; and he would needs have his matter despatched out of hand. "Master," quoth he, "let my brother divide with me." Yet this was a good fellow: he could be contented with part, he desired not to have all together alone to himself, but could be content with a division, and to have his part of the inheritance. And what was the inheritance? *Ager;* a field: so that it was but one piece of ground, or one farm. This covetous man could be content with the half of one farm, where our men now-a-days cannot be satisfied with many farms at once. One man must now have as many farms as will serve many men, or else he will not be contented nor satisfied. They will jar now-a-days one with another, except they have all. "Oh," saith the wise man, "there be three things wherein my soul delighteth: *Concordia fratrum, amor proximorum, et vir ac mulier bene sibi consentientes;* the unity of brethren, the love of neighbours, and a man and wife agreeing well together." So that the concord of brethren, and agreeing of brethren, is a gay thing. What saith Salomon of this matter? *Frater qui adjuvatur a fratre quasi civitas firma et turris fortis;* "The brother that is holpen of his brother, is a sure and well-fenced city, and a strong tower," he is so strong. Oh, it is a great matter,

when brethren love and hold well together! But if the one go about to pull down the other, then are they weak both of them; and when one pulleth down his fellow, they must needs down both of them; there is no stay to hold them up.

Mark in the chronicles of England. Two brethren have reigned jointly together, the one on this side Humber, and the other beyond Humber, in Scotland, and all that way. And what hath come of it? So long as they have agreed well together, so long they have prospered; and when they have jarred, they have both gone to wrack. Brethren that have so reigned here in England, have quarrelled one with another; and the younger hath not been contented with his portion, (as indeed the younger brother commonly jarreth first,) but by the contention both have fared the worse. So when there is any contention between brother and brother for land, commonly they are both undone by it. And that crafty merchant, whatever he be, that will set brother against brother, meaneth to destroy them both. But of these two brethren, whether this man here were the elder or the younger, I cannot say; scripture telleth me not whether of these two was the younger: but a likelihood this was the younger; for once it was a plain law, that *primogenitus*, that is to say, the elder brother, had *duplicia;* and therefore of likelihood it should be the youngest brother that found himself aggrieved, and was not content. But Christ said unto him, "Thou man, who hath made me a judge or a divider between you?" Christ answered him by a question; and mark this question of Christ, "Thou man," *Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem super vos;* "Who made me a judge," &c. It is no small matter, saith Augustine, of what intention one asketh a question; as Christ in another place of the gospel asketh who was neighbour to the pilgrim that was wounded. "There was," saith Christ, "a man that went from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, and they wounded him, and left him for dead. And a priest came by, that was his own countryman, and let him lie; a Levite came by, and would shew no compassion upon him: at last a Samaritan came by, and set him on his horse, and conveyed him to the city, and provided surgery for him, &c. Now who was neighbour to this wounded man?" saith Christ. *Qui fecit illi misericordiam*, quoth the lawyer; "He that shewed mercy unto him." He that did the office of a neighbour, he was a neighbour As ye

may perceive by a more familiar example of the bishop of Exeter at Sutton in Staffordshire. Who is bishop of Exeter? Forsooth, Master Coverdale. What, do not all men know who is bishop of Exeter? What? He hath been bishop many years. Well, say I, Master Coverdale is bishop of Exeter: Master Coverdale putteth in execution the bishop's office, and he that doth the office of the bishop, he is the bishop indeed: therefore say I, Master Coverdale is bishop of Exeter. Alack! there is a thing that maketh my heart sorry. I hear that Master Coverdale is poisoned. Alack! a good man, a godly preacher, an honest fatherly man; and, if it be true, it is a great pity and a lamentable case, that he feeding them with God's word, they should feed him again with poison.

But to the purpose of Christ's question, "Who made me a judge between you?" Here an Anabaptist will say, "Ah! Christ refused the office of a judge; *ergo* there ought to be no judges nor magistrates among christian men. If it had been a thing lawful, Christ would not have refused to do the office of a judge, and to have determined the variance between these two brethren." But Christ did thereby signify that he was not sent for that office; but if thou will have a trial and a sentence of that matter according to the laws, thou must go to the temporal judge that is deputed therefor. But Christ's meaning was, that he was come for another purpose; he had another office deputed unto him than to be a judge in temporal matters. *Ego veni vocare peccatores ad pœnitentiam;* "I am come," saith he, "to call sinners to repentance:" he was come to preach the gospel, the remission of sin, and the kingdom of God; and meant not thereby to disallow the office of temporal magistrates. Nay, if Christ had meant that there should be no magistrates, he would have bid him take all: but Christ meant nothing so. But the matter is, that this covetous man, this brother, took his mark amiss; for he came to a wrong man to seek redress of his matter. For Christ did not forbid him to seek his remedy at the magistrate's hand; but Christ refused to take upon him the office that was not his calling. For Christ had another vocation than to be a judge between such as contended about matters of land. If our rebels had had this in their minds, they would not have been their own judges; but they would have sought the redress of their grief at the hands of the king, and his

magistrates under him appointed. But no marvel of their blindness and ignorance; for the bishops are out of their dioceses that should teach them this gear. But this man perchance had heard, and did think that Christ was Messias, whose reign in words soundeth a corporal and a temporal reign; which should do justice and see a redress in all matters of worldly controversy: which is a necessary office in a christian realm, and must needs be put in execution for ministering of justice. And therefore I require you, as a suitor rather than a preacher, look to your office yourself, and lay not all on your officers' backs; receive the bills of supplication yourself: I do not see you do so now-a-days as ye were wont to do the last year. For God's sake look unto it, and see to the ministering of justice your own self, and let poor suitors have answer. There is a king in Christendom, and it is the king of Denmark, that sitteth openly in justice thrice in the week, and hath doors kept open for the nones.[1] I have heard it reported of one that hath been there, and seen the proof of it many a time and oft: and the last justice that ever he saw done there, was of a priest's cause that had had his glebe land taken from him, (and now here in England some go about to take away all;) but this priest had had his glebe land taken from him by a great man. Well; first went out letters for this man to appear at a day: process went out for him according to the order of the law, and charged him by virtue of those letters to appear afore the king at such a day. The day came: the king sat in the hall ready to minister justice. The priest was there present. The gentleman, this lord, this great man, was called, and commanded to make his appearance according to the writ that had been directed out for him. And the lord came, and was there; but he appeared not. "No," quoth the king, "was he summoned as he should be? Had he any warning to be here?" It was answered, "Yea; and that he was there walking up and down in the hall; and that he knew well enough that that was his day; and also, that he had already been called; but he said, he would not come before the king at that time: alleging, that he needed not as yet to make an answer, because he had had but one summoning." "No," quoth the king, "is he here present?" "Yea, forsooth, sir," said the priest. The king commanded him to be

[1] nonce, purpose.

called, and to come before him: and the end was this, he made this lord, this great man, to restore unto the priest not only the glebe land which he had taken from the priest, but also the rent and profit thereof for so long time as he had withholden it from the priest; which was eight years or thereabout. Saith he, "When you can shew better evidence than the priest hath done, why it ought to be your land, then he shall restore it to you again, and the profits thereof that he shall receive in the mean time: but till that day come, I charge ye that ye suffer him peaceably to enjoy that is his."

This is a noble king; and this I tell for your example, that ye may do the like. Look upon the matter yourself. Poor men put up bills every day, and never the near. Confirm your kingdom in judgment; and begin doing of your own office yourself, even now while you are young, and sit once or twice in the week in council among your lords: it shall cause things to have good success, and that matters shall not be lingered forth from day to day. It is good for every man to do his own office, and to see that well executed and discharged.

Ozias king in Juda, he would needs do the office of the priest, and he would needs offer incense in the sanctuary; which to do was the priest's office. But he was suddenly stricken with the leprosy for his labour, and so continued a leper all the days of his life. St John's disciples would have had their master to take upon him that he was Christ. But what said John? *Nemo sibi assumit quicquam nisi datum fuerit ei desuper;* "No man may take any thing upon himself, except it be given unto him from above." If the Devonshire men had well considered this, they had not provoked the plagues that they have had light upon them. But unpreaching prelacy hath been the chiefest cause of all this hurly-burly and commotions. But if Christ may challenge any kind of men for taking his office upon them, he may say to the mass-mongers, "Who gave you commission to offer up Christ? Who gave you authority to take mine office in hand?" For it is only Christ's office to do that. It is a greater matter to offer Christ. If Christ had offered his body at the last supper, then should we do so too. Who is worthy to offer up Christ? An abominable presumption! Paul saith, *Accepit panem; postquam gratias egisset, fregit, et dixit, Accipite, edite;* "He took bread, and after that he

had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye," &c. : and so said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body." He gave thanks? Well then: in thanksgiving there is no oblation; and when he gave thanks, it was not his body.

When I was in examination, I was asked many questions, and it was said to me, What Christ did, that should we do: a bishop gathered that upon these words, *Hoc facite in mei recordationem*, "Do this in remembrance of me." Then said he to me, "How know ye that they ate it, before he said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, 'This is my body?'" I answered again and said, "How know ye that they did not it?" &c. So I brought unto him the place of Paul abovesaid; and that in thanksgiving is none oblation; and when he gave thanks it was not his body, for he gave thanks in the beginning of supper, before they eat any manner of thing at all; as his accustomed manner was to do. I wonder therefore, that they will or dare by this text take upon them to offer Christ's body: they should rather say, *Quisme constituit oblatorem*, "Who made me an offerer?" But when Christ said, *Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem super vos*, "Who hath made me a judge or a divider of lands among you?" Christ did refuse another man's office; an office that he was not of his Father deputed unto. Christ's kingdom was a spiritual kingdom, and his office was a spiritual office; and he was a spiritual judge. And therefore, when the woman taken in adultery was brought before him, he refused not to play the judge; but said, *Quis te accusat*, "Who accuseth thee?" And she said again, *Nemo, Domine*: "No man, Lord." Then said he, *Nec ego te condemno*, "Nor I condemn thee not." *Vade et noli amplius peccare*, "Go thy ways, and sin no more." Here he took upon him his own office, and did his office; for his office was to preach, and bid sinners amend their evil living, and not to be a temporal judge in temporal causes. And here is another occasion of a suit to your highness, for the punishment of lechery; for lechery floweth in England like a flood.

But now to make an end in temporal causes. He said, *Quis me constituit judicem, &c.*, "Who made me a judge of temporal causes among you, and of worldly matters?" Thus came this fellow in here with interrupting of Christ's sermon, and received the answer which I have rehearsed. "Thou man, thou fellow," quoth he, "who hath made me a judge among you?" And he said unto all the audience, *Videte*

et cavete ab avaritia; "See and beware of covetousness." Why so? *Quia non in abundantia cujusquam vita ejus est ex his quæ possidet;* "For no man's life standeth in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." We may have things necessary, and we may have abundance of things; but the abundance doth not make us blessed. It is no good argument, *Quo plus quisque habet, tanto beatius vivit;* "The more riches that a man hath, the more happily and the more blissfully he liveth." For a certain great man, that had purchased much lands, a thousand marks by year, or I wot not what; a great portion he had: and so on the way, as he was in his journey towards London, or from London, he fell sick by the way; a disease took him, that he was constrained to lie upon it. And so being in his bed, the disease grew more and more upon him, that he was, by his friends that were about him, godly advised to look to himself, and to make him ready to God; for there was none other likelihood but that he must die without remedy. He cried out, "What, shall I die?" quoth he. "Wounds! sides! heart! Shall I die, and thus go from my goods? Go, fetch me some physician that may save my life. Wounds and sides! Shall I thus die?" There lay he still in his bed like a block, with nothing but, "Wounds and sides, shall I die?" Within a very little while he died indeed; and then lay he like a block indeed. There was black gowns, torches, tapers, and ringing of bells; but what is become of him, God knoweth, and not I.

But hereby this ye may perceive, that it is not the abundance of riches that maketh a man to live quietly and blissfully. But the quiet life is in a mediocrity. *Mediocres optime vivunt:* "They that are in a mean do live best." And there is a proverb which I read many years ago, *Dimidium plus toto;* "The half sometimes more than the whole." The mean life is the best life and the most quiet life of all. If a man should fill himself up to the throat, he should not find ease in it, but displeasure; and with the one half he might satisfy his greedy appetite. So this great riches never maketh a man's life quiet, but rather troublous. I remember here a saying of Salomon, and his example: *Conservavi mihi argentum et aurum,* "I gathered silver and gold together," saith he; "I provided me singers, and women which could play on instruments, to make men mirth and pastime; I gat me psalteries and songs of music, &c., and thus my heart rejoiced

in all that I did." But what was the end of all this? *Cum convertissem me ad omnia &c.*, "When I considered," saith Salomon, "all the works that my hands had wrought, &c., lo! all was but vanity and vexation of mind; and nothing of any value under the sun." Therefore leave covetousness; for, believe me, if I had an enemy, the first thing that I would wish to him should be, that he might have abundance of riches; for so I am sure he should never be in quiet. But think ye there be not many that would be so hurt? But in this place of the gospel Christ spake and declared this unquietness and uncertainty of great riches by a similitude and parable of a great rich man, who had much land, that brought forth all fruits plentifully; and he being in a pride of the matter, and much unquiet by reason that he had so much, said to himself, "What shall I do, because I have not room enough wherein to bestow my fruits, that have grown unto me of my lands? I will thus do," saith he; "I will pull down my barns, and build greater barns; and I will say to my soul, My soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." But God said to him, *Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam repetunt abs te:* "Thou fool! thou fool! this night will they take thy soul from thee again, and then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided? Even so it is with him," saith Christ, "that gathereth riches unto himself, and is not rich toward God," &c. But yet the covetous man can never be content. I walked one day with a gentleman in a park, and the man regarded not my talk, but cast his head and eye this and that way, so that I perceived he gave no great ear to me; which when I saw, I held my peace. At last, "Oh," quoth the gentleman, "if this park were mine, I would never desire more while I lived." I answered and said, "Sir, and what if ye had this park too?" For there was another park even hard by. This gentleman laughed at the matter. And truly I think he was diseased with the dropsy: the more he had, the more covetous he was to have still more and more. This was a farmer that had a farm hard by it; and if he might have had this park to it, he would never have desired more. This was a farmer, not altogether so covetous a man as there be many now-a-days, as for one gentleman to rake up all the farms in the country together into his hands all at once.

And here one suit more to your highness: there lacketh

one thing in this realm, that it hath need of; for God's sake make some promoters.[1] There lack promoters, such as were in king Henry the Seventh's days, your grandfather. There lack men to promote the king's officers when they do amiss, and to promote all offenders. I think there is great need of such men of godly discretion, wisdom, and conscience, to promote transgressors, as rent-raisers, oppressors of the poor, extortioners, bribers, usurers. I hear there be usurers in England, that will take forty in the hundred; but I hear of no promoters to put them up. We read not, this covetous farmer or landed man of the gospel bought corn in the markets to lay it up in store, and then sell it again. But, and if it please your highness, I hear say that in England we have landlords, nay, step-lords I might say, that are become graziers; and burgesses are become regraters; and some farmers will regrate and buy up all the corn that cometh to the markets, and lay it up in store, and sell it again at a higher price, when they see their time. I heard a merchantman say, that he had travailed all the days of his life in the trade of merchandise, and had gotten three or four thousand pounds by buying and selling; but in case he might be licensed or suffered so to do, he would get a thousand pound a year by only buying and selling of grain here within this realm. Yea, and (as I hear say) aldermen now-a-days are become colliers: they be both woodmongers and makers of coals. I would wish he might eat nothing but coals for awhile, till he had amended it. There cannot a poor body buy a sack of coals, but it must come through their hands. But this rich man that the gospel speaketh of was a covetous man: God had given him plenty, but that made him not a good man: it is another thing that maketh a good man. God saith, *Si non audieris vocem meam*, "If thou obey not my voice," &c. And therefore worldly riches do not declare the favour or disfavour of God. The scripture saith, *Nemo scit an sit amore dignus an odio.* God hath ordained all things to be good; and the devil laboureth to turn all things to man's evil. God giveth men plenty of riches to exercise their faith and charity, to confirm them that be good, to draw them that be naught, and to bring them to repentance; and the devil worketh altogether to the contrary. And it is an old proverb, "the more wicked,

[1] A species of informers who prosecuted offenders against the laws, and received part of the pecuniary fines that were levied.

the more fortunate." But the unquietness of this covetous rich man declareth the unquietness of the mind, that riches bringeth with it. First, they are all in care how to get riches; and then are they in more care how to keep it still. Therefore the Apostle saith, *Qui volunt ditescere incidunt in tentationes varias;* "They that study to get great riches do fall into many divers temptations." But the root of all evil is covetousness. "What shall I do?" saith this rich man. He asked his own brainless head what he should do: he did not ask of the scripture; for if he had asked of the scripture, it would have told him; it would have said unto him, *Frange esurienti panem tuum*, &c.; "Break thy bread unto the hungry." All the affection of men now-a-days is in building gay and sumptuous houses; it is in setting up and pulling down, and never have they done building. But the end of all such great riches and covetousness is this: "This night, thou fool, thy soul shall be taken from thee." It is to be understood of all that rise up from little to much, as this rich man that the gospel spake of. I do not despise riches, but I wish that men should have riches as Abraham had, and as Joseph had. A man to have riches to help his neighbour, is godly riches. The worldly riches is to put all his trust and confidence in his worldly riches; that he may by them live here gallantly, pleasantly, and voluptuously. Is this godly riches? No, no, this is not godly riches. It is a common saying now-a-days among many, "Oh he is a rich man: he is well worth five hundred pounds." He is well worth five hundred pounds, that hath given five hundred pounds to the poor; otherwise it is none of his. Yea, but who shall have this five hundred pounds? For whom hast thou gotten this five hundred pounds? What saith Salomon? Ecclesiastes v. *Est alia infirmitas pessima quam vidi sub sole, divitiæ conservatæ in malum domini sui:* "Another evil (saith he) and another very naughty imperfection, riches hoarded up and kept together to the owner's own harm:" for many times such riches do perish and consume away miserably. "Such a one shall sometime have a son," said he, "that shall be a very beggar, and live all in extreme penury." O goodly riches, that one man shall get it, and another come to devour it! Therefore, *Videte et cavete ab avaritia;* "See and beware of covetousness." Believe God's words, for they will not deceive you nor lie. "Heaven and earth shall perish, but *Verbum Domini manet*

in æternum; the word of the Lord abideth, and endureth for ever." O this leavened faith, this unseasoned faith! Beware of this unseasoned faith. A certain man asked me this question, "Didst thou ever see a man live long that had great riches?" Therefore saith the wise man, "If God send thee riches, use them." If God send thee abundance, use it according to the rule of God's word; and study to be rich in our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

A SERMON PREACHED BY M. HUGH LATIMER, AT STAMFORD, NOVEMBER 9, ANNO 1550.

Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo.
MATTHEW xxii. 21.

Give that that is Cæsar's to Cæsar, and that that is God's to God.

THIS doctrine is grievous, heavy, and irksome to covetous hearts, rebellious and seditious hearts. Give, give, they cannot away with it; it cannot stick in their minds, nor settle in their stomachs: they would rather be taking, scraping, and catching, than giving. But godly persons will well accept and take it; for it is to them a great pleasure, joy, and comfort. For the better understanding of this place, ye shall understand, Christ came to bring us out of bondage, and to set us at liberty, not from civil burthen, as from obeying the magistrates, from paying tax and tribute; but from a greater burthen, and a more grievouser burthen, the burthen of sin; the burthen, not of the body, but of the soul; to make us free from it, and to redeem us from the curse and malediction of the law unto the honourable state of the children of God. But as for the civil burthens, he delivered us not from them, but rather commanded us to pay them. "Give, give," saith he, "to Cæsar obedience, tribute, and all things due to Cæsar."

For the understanding of this text, it shall be very needful to consider the circumstance going before: which thing duly considered giveth a great light to all places of the scripture. Who spake these words: to whom they were spoken: upon what occasion; and afore whom? Therefore I will take the whole fragment and shred, taken out of God's book for the Gospel of this day; written in the Gospel of Matthew, the twenty-second chapter: *Tunc abierunt Pharisæi;* "Then went the Pharisees, and took a counsel." Luke hath *observantes*, marking, spying, looking, tooting,[1]

[1] Slyly prying.

watching: like subtle, crafty, and sleighty fellows, they took a counsel, and sent to him their disciples, which should "feign themselves just men," godly men, glad to learn his doctrine; and with them Herod's servants to trap him in his words: and they said to him, "Master, we know that thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God *in veritate*, truly, and carest for no man: for thou regardest not the personage of man. Tell us therefore, what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give Cæsar tribute-money, or no?" This was their question that they would have snarled him with. In answering him to this, they would have caught him by the foot. But Jesus, *cognita malitia eorum*, knowing their malice, their wickedness, their uncharitableness, said to them: "Hypocrites, why do ye tempt me? Shew me a piece of the tribute money. And they brought him a penny. And he said to them, Whose image is this, and the writing? They answered, Cæsar's. He said to them, Give to Cæsar, that that belongeth to Cæsar, and to God that that is God's." Thus ye may perceive, it was our Saviour Christ that spake these words; and they were spoken unto the Pharisees that tempted him. But they be a doctrine unto us, that are Christ's disciples. For whose words should we delight to hear and learn, but the words and doctrine of our Saviour Christ? And that I may at this time so declare them, as may be for God's glory, your edifying, and my discharge, I pray you all to help me with your prayers.

In the which prayer, &c., for the universal church of Christ through the whole world, &c., for the preservation of our sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, sole supreme Head, under God and Christ, of the churches of England and Ireland, &c. Secondly, for the king's most honourable council. Thirdly, I commend unto you the souls departed this life in the faith of Christ, that ye remember to give laud, praise, and thanks to Almighty God for his great goodness and mercy shewed unto them in that great need and conflict against the devil and sin, and that gave them at the hour of death faith in his Son's death and passion, whereby they might conquer and overcome and get the victory. Give thanks, I say, for this; adding prayers and supplications for yourselves, that it may please God to give you the like faith and grace to trust only unto the death of his dear Son, as he gave unto them. For as they be gone, so must we: and the devil will be as ready to tempt us as he was them; and our

sins will light as heavy upon us as theirs did upon them; and we are as weak and unable to resist, as were they. Pray therefore that we may have grace to die in the same faith of Christ as they did, and at the latter day be raised with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and be partakers with Christ in the kingdom of heaven. For this and grace let us say the Lord's prayer.

Tunc abeuntes. *Tunc*, it hangeth on a text before. Christ told them a similitude, that the kingdom of heaven is like to a king that made a bridal to his son: he married his son, and sent his servants out to bid his guests. Well; they would not come, although he had made great preparing and much cost for them. Ambition, covetousness, and cruelty would not let them come. Then he sent his warriors and destroyed them; and again and again sent other servants to bid guests to his bridal, hand over head, come who would. They did his bidding, and the house was full of guests. The king now would view his guests, and finding there one not clad in marrying garments, he asked him: "Friend, how camest thou here, not having a marriage-garment? And commanded to bind him hand and foot, and cast him into utter darkness: there was wailing and grinding of teeth. For many be called and few be chosen." Now Christ expoundeth this: The kingdom of heaven is preaching of the gospel. This marriage is the joining of Christ and his church; which was begun by Christ here in earth, and shall continue to the end of the world. The bidders of his guests are preachers: but here are so many lets and hinderances. Covetousness is a let; ambition is a let; cruelty is the greatest let. For they beat his servants; brake their heads; yea, murdered them which bade them to this bridal. With this the king was angry, and sent his men of war to destroy those unthankful people. Was he not angry with covetousness, and with ambition? Yes, he is angry with covetous men, with ambitious men; but most of all with cruelty. This is an anger above common anger, when men be not only unthankful, but also add cruelty, to persecute the preachers that come to call us to this marriage. This toucheth God so nigh, that he saith, *Qui vos audit me audit;* "He that heareth you heareth me." This cruelty the king would not leave unpunished, but sent forth his men of war. They are called his men of war, his men; his men, for wars come at his commandment. Titus and Vespasian were sent of God

to punish those covetous Jews, ambitious Jews, cruel Jews, that would not credit Christ, nor believe the preaching of salvation. Now in war what part soever get the victory, that is God's part, that is God's host. Nabuchadonoser was an evil man, a wicked man ; yet was he sent of God to punish the stubborn and covetous Jews for their ambition and cruelty, and forsaking God's most holy word, and he is called in scripture "God's servant." It is no good argument, He hath the victory, *; ergo* he is a good man. But this is a good argument : He hath the victory, *ergo* God was on his side, and by him punished the contrary party.

The preachers called good and bad. They can do no more but call ; God is he that must bring in ; God must open the hearts, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles : when Paul preached to the women, there was a silk-woman, *cujus cor Deus aperuit,* "whose heart God opened." None could open it but God. Paul could but only preach, God must work ; God must do the thing inwardly. But good and bad came. Therefore the preaching is likened to a fisher's net, that taketh good fish and bad, and draweth all to the shore. In the whole multitude that profess the gospel, all be no good ; all cannot away with the mortifying of their flesh. They will with good will bear the name of Christians, of gospellers ; but to do the deeds they grudge, they repine, they cannot away with it. Among the apostles all were not honest ; nay, one was a devil. So among so great a number of gospellers, some are card-gospellers ; some are dice-gospellers ; some pot-gospellers. All are not good ; all seek not amendment of life.

Then cometh the king to see his guests, and findeth one not having the marriage-garment, and saith to him, "Friend, how camest thou hither, and hast not the marriage-garment?" Faith is the marriage-garment ; not a feigned faith without good living, but "faith that worketh by love." He was blamed because he professed one thing, and was indeed another. Why did he not blame the preachers? There was no fault in them, they did their duties : they had no further commandment but to call them to the marriage. The garment he should have provided himself. Therefore he quarrelleth not with the preachers, "What doth this fellow here? Why suffered ye him to enter," &c. For their commission extended no further but only to call him. Many are grieved that there is so little fruit of their preaching.

And when as they are asked, "Why do you not preach, having so great gifts given you of God?" "I would preach," say they, "but I see so little fruit, so little amendment of life, that it maketh me weary." A naughty answer: a very naughty answer. Thou art troubled with that God gave thee no charge of; and leavest undone that thou art charged with. God commandeth thee to preach: and *si non locutus fueris*, if thou speak not, if thou warn not the wicked, that they turn and amend, they shall perish in their iniquities; *sanguinem autem ejus de manu tua requiram.* This text nippeth; this pincheth; this toucheth the quick: "He shall die in his wickedness, but I will require his blood at thy hand." Hearken well to this, mark it well, ye curates; "I will ask his blood at thy hand." If you do not your office, if ye teach not the people, and warn them not, you shall be damned for it. If you do your office, you are discharged; *Tuam animam liberasti.* Warn them, therefore, to leave their wickedness, their covetousness, their ambition, their cruelty, unmercifulness, &c., and thou hast saved thine own soul. For there was no quarrel with the preachers; but he was cast in prison, "where was weeping and wailing and grinding of teeth:" these were his delicates. *Multi sunt vocati;* "Many are called, but few are chosen."

To this parable now joineth this gospel. *Tunc Pharisæi abeuntes.* The Pharisees were a sect of religion among the Jews, most exquisite, perfect, holy, and learned, and were reputed most godly men; even such as in holiness excelled all other, as our monks were of late among us, and be yet in other places. They were in God's bosom, even at heaven-gates, in the sight of the world; but inwardly superstitious, feigned, hollow-hearted, dissimulers. Now at this time, I know none more like them than the hypocritical hollow-hearted papists. The name is changed, but the thing remaineth. Therefore they may well be called by the name that keep the thing. These were enemies to Christ and his doctrine. They would be ordered by old wont, customs, forefathers; and, to maintain their traditions, set aside the commandments of God, refused Christ and his word. St Luke hath *observantes*, "observants," that is, watchers, tooters, spies; much like the Observant Friars, the barefoot friars, that were here; which indeed were the bishop of Rome's spies, watching in every country, what was said or done against him. He had it by and by, by one or other of his spies: they were his men

altogether, his posts to work against the regality. In the court, in the noblemen's houses, at every merchant's house, those Observants were spying, tooting, and looking, watching and prying, what they might hear or see against the see of Rome. Take heed of these Observants. To understand the word *observantes*, mark what the poet saith in his comedy, *Observa Davum.* Take heed, beware and mark *Davum;* for they will be stirring in every town, in every gentleman's house, yea, at their very tables. Well, be wise, beware of them.

Inierunt consilium, "They took a counsel." Some goodly thing, some weighty matter, I am sure, that these holy fathers consulted upon. It must needs be for the commonwealth, and the profit of many, that these holy fathers came together for. It was "to snarl or trap him in his words." This was their device, this was their counsel. To this end they gather such a company of holy fathers. "A council, a council: *Bonum est concilium*," said one. "Yea, marry," quoth another, "*sed bonorum.*" "A council is good: yea, sir, if it be of good men." For else what is a council, if it be wicked, of wicked men? If they say, "This was done by a council, determined in a council;" what is it the better, if the council be wicked? The Nicene council was gathered of a great number of bishops and learned men; yet had not one man been there, they had determined contrary to God's word. They were minded and earnestly bent to make a decree, that no priest should marry; but one old man, and unmarried himself, withstood that act, and turned the council's mind; so that they meddled not with that decree. And why? More credence is to be given to one man having the holy word of God for him, than to ten thousand without the word. If it agree with God's word, it is to be received; if it agree not, it is not to be received, though a council, yea, though an angel from heaven, had determined it. Truth it is, that Christ granteth to a congregation gathered in his name, to be amongst them; yea, though it be but two or three. There is as much granted to two or three, as to ten thousand, so they come in Christ's name: *Ubi duo vel tres congregati sunt in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum. In nomine meo.* Much wickedness is done, *in nomine Domini.* When they come together seeking their own private lust, pleasures, and ambitious desires, it is not *in nomine Domini*, "in the name of the Lord." But to seek

God's glory, Christ's glory, Christ's true religion, that is *in nomine Christi;* and then they are to be heard. But what was these men's counsel? *Ut illaquearent eum in sermone;* "to snarl or tangle him in his words:" tooters and watchers, to catch him in his word, that they might enforce somewhat against him. *Non est consilium adversus Dominum.* These were wily pies, sleighty children, children of the world, and craftily they handled their matters. *Miserunt discipulos suos cum Herodianis.* They would not go themselves, lest they might have been known; but he knew not their disciples, as they thought. And they went not alone, but had with them Herod's soldiers, Herod's favourers. This Herod was an Idumean, and was appointed by the Romans to govern the Jews, and to gather the tribute-money. Therefore he was hated among the Jews; and so were those that favoured the Romans' part, and in disdain they were called Herodians. Now was the time come, that the holy patriarch prophesied, that the sceptre and kingdom was removed, and Christ was born. This they should have marked, and received his doctrine. But they went about to destroy him, and therefore they brought the Herodians with them. Here now is an agreement in wickedness between the Pharisees and the Herodians against the truth: against Christ, against God's word they agree together; whereas indeed neither loved other, but hated each other as a toad. So many now-a-days of our Pharisees, papists, in destroying the truth they agree wondrous well, whereas in private matters they hate one another as a toad.

Here come me now these holy fathers from their council, and send their disciples with the Herodians: mark their behaviour, and mark Christ's behaviour. They come lowting and with low curtesy, as though they would creep into his bosom. As for Herod's men, they meddle not, but stand by to hear the tale as witnesses; and if he should speak any thing amiss, be ready to lay hands upon him. They would fain rid him and destroy him; but they would turn the envy of the deed upon Herod, so that they would be seen faultless. It had been more meet for them to have counselled how to amend their faults, and to have come to Christ to learn his doctrine, than to study maliciously to trap him and to destroy him. What said they? *Magister, scimus quod verax es;* "Master, we know thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God truly. Master, we know that

thou art Tom Truth, and thou tellest the very truth, and sparest for no man. Thou art plain Tom Truth." Goodly words, but out of a cankered stomach and malicious heart! Smiling speakers creep into a man's bosom, they love and all-to love him; they favour his word, and call him master, and yet would gladly see him hanged! These are indeed hypocrites, one in heart, and another in mouth! "We know that thou art a true man, *et viam Dei in veritate doces!*" Yea, this is God's way, taught truly! There is God's way, and man's way. Many teach men's way, but that should not be. We should learn *viam Dei*, God's way; and that truly, without mixture, temperature, blanching, powdering. Many teach God's way, and shall preach a very good and godly sermon; but at the last they will have a blanched almond, one little piece of popery patched in, to powder their matter with, for their own lucre and glory. They make a mingling of the way of God and man's way together; a mingle-mangle, as men serve pigs in my country. Christ did not so: he taught the way of God truly, without mixture, powdering, or blanching. These be the properties of all true preachers, that these confess to be in Christ. It was true every word that they spake. Christ is our master appointed of God: he was true, and taught God's way, not man's way; truly, not blanching it with man's doctrine. So should we preachers be true men; preachers of God's way, truly, truly, without regard of person: that is, for no man's pleasure corrupting the word, or mingle-mangle the word with man's invention and traditions.

Here may patrons of benefices learn upon what manner of a man they should bestow their benefice: upon a true man, a teacher. He may not be to learn, and a scholar, when he should teach others; but one learned; able to teach, able and well willing to discharge his cure. But what do you, patrons? Sell your benefices, or give them to your servants for their service, for keeping of hounds or hawks, for making of your gardens. These patrons regard no souls, neither their own nor other men's. What care they for souls, so they have money, though they perish, though they go to the devil? Whereas indeed the office of a patron is to have a care, a zeal, a vigilant eye for souls' health, and to provide for his churches, that he is patron of; that they might be taught in God's word. Truly, many now-a-days strive to be patrons of benefices, and go to the law who should be patron.

And what strive they for, think ye? Even which of them shall go to the devil first. For they regard not soul-health, nor the office of preaching, the office of salvation; whereas, indeed, therefore are they patrons, to look to it, and to see it be provided for. God of his goodness and almighty power might ordain other ways and means of salvation; but this office of preaching is it that God hath ordained, as St Paul saith: *Cum non cognoverit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam prædicationis salvos facere credentes;* "Whereas the world by his wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by foolish preaching to save" *credentes*, "those that believe," *per stultitiam prædicationis*, "by foolishness of preaching," or foolish preaching, it maketh no matter. Not that it was foolish indeed, but that the wise men of the world did so esteem and take the preaching of the gospel: whereas indeed it is most godly wisdom, and the preaching office is the office of salvation, and the only means that God hath appointed to salvation. *Credentes*, those that believe, be saved by this holy office of preaching. I would wish it were better looked unto and provided for, and that patrons and bishops should see more diligently to it, than hath been done afore-time. I would ask no more diligence to this office of salvation, than men are wont to bestow upon their worldly pleasures, and lucre, or commodities. Nay, would they but bestow half the labour and pains, and some little part of the expenses, it were well. To consider what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. It may well be said by us, that the Lord complaineth by his prophet, *Domus mea deserta, vos festinatis unusquisque in domum suam.* What is Christ's house, but christian souls? But who maketh any provision for them? Every man scrapeth and getteth together for this bodily house, but the soul-health is neglected. Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibition; the preaching office decayeth. Men provide lands and riches for their children, but this most necessary office they for the most part neglect. Very few there be that help poor scholars; that set their children to school to learn the word of God, and to make a provision for the age to come. This, notwithstanding, is the only way to salvation. God will not devise any new way, as far as I perceive, but would have us to use this way ordained already. This preaching way we ought to use, and not to look for any new way.

This office of salvation we ought to maintain, and not look for any other. My request is, that ye would bestow as much to the maintenance of this necessary office of salvation, as ye were wont to bestow in times past upon Romish trifles, and things of man's traditions. Neither do I now speak for myself and my convent, as the begging Friars were wont to do. I have enough, I thank God, and I need not to beg. I would every preacher were as well provided as myself, through this realm; as indeed I think them as well worthy as myself. I wish, I say, ye would bestow as much upon this necessary office of salvation, as in times past ye bestowed in pilgrimages, in images, in gilding, painting, in masses, diriges, trentals, chantries, and such vain things of the Romish Pharisees' and papists' inventing. Ye would do that without calling; and to this will you not be ready when ye be called. If it be no better in time to come than hitherto looked unto, then England will at the last bewail it. Christ knew what a charge hangeth upon this necessary office of preaching, the office of salvation, and therefore most earnestly applied it himself. And when he chose his twelve apostles to send them forth unto this office, he first prayed all the night. He, being God almighty with the Father, might have given all gifts fit for this office; but to teach us, he would first pray all night. Here is good matter for bishops and patrons to look upon; and not to regard so little whom they give their benefice unto, or whom they admit to cure the souls they have charge of. A notable example: Christ prayed all night, ere he would send them forth, ere he would put them in this preaching office, this most necessary office of salvation. For he saw that they had need of great zeal to God and to souls' health, that should take upon them to keep souls, and a bold courage and spirit, that should rebuke the world of their sin and wickedness. Many will choose now such a curate for their souls, as they may call "fool," rather than one that shall rebuke their covetousness, ambition, unmercifulness, uncharitableness; that shall be sober, discreet, apt to reprove and resist the gainsayers with the word of God.

These be the properties of every good preacher: to be a true man; to teach, not dreams nor inventions of men, but *viam Dei in veritate*, "the way of God truly;" and not to regard the personage of man; not to creep into his bosom, to claw his back; to say to the wicked he doth well, for filthy lucre's sake. Ah, these flatterers! no greater mischief

in the commonwealth, than these flatterers! But who would have discerned this, but our Saviour Jesus Christ? He spied them out, and knew all their malicious hearts, their uncharitable hearts, their dissembling hearts, and said, *Quid me tentatis, hypocritæ?* Hypocrites, hypocrites, hypocrites! one in heart, another in mouth; fair in pretence, but full of mischief and malicious hatred within; he saw what was within. Then have at ye, ye hypocrites! They put forth their question, *Licet censum dare Cæsari, an non?* A perilous question to answer to! This was the fruit of their counsel, and this was the snare laid for him. What should he do now? Hold his peace? That had been a slander to his doctrine. They would have said, "Lo, how ignorant he is in the law, that hath no answer to this simple and plain question." If he affirm, and bid pay the tribute, he shall incur the hatred of the people, and seem to speak in favour of the Romans. If he would have denied it, then had they that they sought. The Herodians were ready to lay hands upon him, to have him to Bocardo. "To prison with him, a traitor that speaketh against Cæsar! Away with this seditious fellow!"

O Lord, what peril is it to have to do with these hypocrites! Who could have escaped this snare but Christ only, which is the wisdom of the Father, and knew all their maliciousness and crafty sleights? And as he then by his wisdom overcame them, so now doubtless he giveth wisdom to all his, to spy out and beware of their subtle crafts. For such trains, traps, snares and subtleties, as these Pharisees laid for Christ, such have our pharisaical papists laid for Christ's preachers. But he mercifully ever fulfilled his promise, *Dabo os et sapientiam, cui non possunt resistere omnes adversarii vestri:* "I will," saith Christ, "give mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist." They shall not be tongue-tied, they have their answer; yea, so wise that their adversaries shall not be able to resist. They may well oppress it here in this world with power, but they cannot be able to overcome it with arguments of truth: no, all the pack of adversaries, with all their subtleties, snares, and gins. They may rail upon it, as in many places lewd fellows do against priests' marriages; "that dame, his wife, his whore, &c:" but they cannot deny it by any scripture, but that the marriage of priests is as good and godly, as the marriage of any other man. For "wedlock is honourable among all men, and the wedded bed undefiled. And to avoid fornication,

let every man have his own wife." Well, let them rail; let them do what they can against the truth. *Respice finem*, "mark the end;" look upon the end. The end is, all adversaries of the truth must be confounded and come to nought, neither shall they be able to resist it. And though the poor disciples be troubled, vexed and persecuted, "mark the end." The highest promotion that God can bring his unto in this life is, to suffer for his truth. And it is the greatest setting forth of his word; it is God's seed. And one suffering for the truth turneth more than a thousand sermons.

I will tell you an example of this, how God giveth mouth and wisdom. I was once in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law; but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was before wont to be examined, but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered: for whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanging hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end; so that I stood between the table and the chimney's end. There was among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table end. Then among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one; and such one indeed as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer; "I pray you, Master Latimer," said he, "speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off." I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney. And, Sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers: for they made sure work that I should not start from them; there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer: I could never else have escaped it. The question was this: "Master Latimer, do you not think on your conscience, that you have been suspected of heresy?" A subtle question, a very subtle question. There was no holding of peace would

serve. To hold my peace had been to grant myself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger. But God, which alway hath given me answer, helped me, or else I could never have escaped it; and delivered me from their hands. Many one have had the like gracious deliverance, and been endued with God's wisdom and God's Spirit, which all their adversaries could not be able to resist.

Ostendite mihi numisma census: "Shew me," said he, "a penny of the tribute money." They laid snares to destroy him, but he overturneth them in their own traps: *qui comprehendit astutos in fallacia eorum;* "He taketh the crafty in their own subtle gins and snares:" but not maliciously to destroy them, as they maliciously would have seen him hanged; but mercifully to turn them from their wicked imaginations, that they might consider that "no wisdom, no subtle crafts, nor counsel is against the Lord," and so repent and become new men. *At illi obtulerunt illi denarium;* "And they brought him a denary," a piece of their current coin, that was worth ten of our usual pence: such another piece as our testoon. And he said, *Cujus est imago hæc et superscriptio? Dicunt ei, Cæsaris:* "Whose image is this, and superscription? They said, Cæsar's:" for now was Jewry brought under the bondage of the Romans, and therefore used they the Roman coin, and had upon it both Cæsar's image, and Cæsar's superscription. Then answered Jesus, *Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo;* "Pay to Cæsar that is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God." Make not a mingle-mangle of them: but give to God his own, give to Cæsar his own. To God give thy soul, thy faith, thy hope, thy obedient mind, to keep his word, and frame thy life thereafter: to Cæsar give tribute, tax, subsidy, and all other duties pertaining to him; as to have him in thy honour and reverence, and to obey his just laws and righteous commandments, &c.

But because the time is past, I will here make an end for this forenoon; desiring you to pray to God for his help: for at afternoon I purpose to begin again at this text, and to go forth as God shall give me his grace. Now let us all say together the Lord's prayer. "Our Father which art in heaven," &c.

The Residue of the Gospel, declared in the Afternoon, by M. Latimer.

Reddite Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, et quæ sunt Dei Deo.—MATT. xxii. 21.

Yield to Cæsar that belongeth to Cæsar, and to God that belongeth to God.

YE may perceive by that we have said, who spake these words, and upon what occasion they were spoken. Our Saviour Christ spake them to the tempting Pharisees, to the crafty and subtle hollow-hearted Pharisees; willing them to know their duty by their own confession, and to give to Cæsar his duty, and to God his duty. Our Saviour Christ spake them. If he spake them, we ought to regard them. Regard them, I say, and make much of them; for though they were then spoken to them, yet in them they were spoken to all the world. I use to make a rehearsal of that I spake before, but because the time is short, I will omit it. The service must be done, and the day goeth fast away. Therefore I will to my matter, and leave the rehearsal.

These words be words of great importance, and would well be considered: for he that doth this, receiveth great benefits by it; but he that doth it not, incurreth great damage and danger. The occasion was a counsel taken among these holy fathers to snarl Christ. A good and charitable deed! Yet were they holy men, holy fathers, full of charity up to the hard ears. This they learned in their council; and this now they set on broach. But Christ now causeth them to make answer to their own question, as he did also a little before. When he was come up into Jerusalem, and had driven out the buyers and sellers in the temple; the arch-Pharisees, Provincials, and Abbots-Pharisees, came stoutly to him as he was preaching in the temple, and said to him, *Qua auctoritate ista facis? Aut quis dedit tibi istam auctoritatem?* "By what authority dost thou these things? Who hath given thee this authority? We have the rule of the people of God, we have given thee no such authority." A wondrous thing! Christ had testimony of his Father: "This is my beloved Son, hear him." John had borne him witness, saying, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." His works and miracles were testi-

monies that his doctrine was of God. Well, all this would not serve. He must have license of these holy fathers, or else all is nothing worth. Christ answered not directly to their question, but asked them another question, and made them give answer against themselves; and as it were with one wedge drived out another. "The baptism of John, was it of God, or of man? Was John sent of God? Had he his authority of God or of man?" Here he driveth them to confess his doctrine to be of God. For John, whom they could not deny to have been sent from God, bare witness that his doctrine was true. If they had confessed this, he would have inferred, "Why believe ye him not?" If they should have said, "John was not of God," then would all the people have been against them; yea, in a hurly-burly have stoned them. This they considered within themselves, and yet their malicious hearts would not bear it to confess the truth: nay, rather, like wise gentlemen, they answered, "We know not: we cannot tell." These arch-Pharisees thought nothing might be done or taught without their license, nor otherwise but as they pleased to interpret. They were like our religion and clergy, that thought nothing might be taught but as they pleased. They would pay no tax nor tribute. They had their immunities, privileges, and grants, from the Roman bishop. And to maintain this they alleged many scriptures, as thus, *Nolite tangere Christos meos;* which is, "Touch not mine anointed or consecrated people." Which words the Lord spake by the Israelites in Egypt, warning king Pharao to leave and cease from persecuting the Israelites: and it maketh as much for our clergy's immunity and proveth it as well, as if a man alleged, *Quem terra, pontus,* to prove that an ape hath a tail.

Well, they answered, *Cæsaris,* "Cæsar's." They confessed it was Cæsar's money, and Cæsar's image and writing upon it. Here Christ compelled them to make answer unto their own question; and if envy should arise, to take it themselves: for they confessed it to be Cæsar's. Then said he, "Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God." This answer of Christ I would have you all to learn. Give to your Cæsar, to your king, to our most noble king Edward, our Cæsar, our king and magistrate appointed and given to us of God,—give to him that which is due to him. This is a commandment of God, as are these, "Thou shalt not murder: Thou shalt not

steal, nor bear false witness against thy neighbours." And as thou art bound upon peril of thy soul to obey the other; so upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey and keep this. Look well upon it, for it is upon peril of thy soul. *Date*, "Give, give;" a heavy word to a covetous heart, to a rebellious heart. They would nor hear *reddite*, or *date*, "pay, or give;" but "take, catch, keep fast." We are all bound to live in obedience unto our king, under his just and rightwise laws and commandments. Christ came, indeed, to deliver us from burthens and bondage, but that was not from civil and politic laws and obedience. He came to deliver us from the greatest bondage that can be, from sin and damnation. The heaviest burthen that can be is sin; and in comparison of it, all other burthens are but light and easy matters to bear. Therefore Christ came to deliver us from that, and gave his body to be torn upon the cross for that. Neither could any work, or law, or sacrifice redeem us from that, but Christ only. I never preached in Lincolnshire afore, nor came here afore, save once when I went to take orders at Lincoln, which was a good while ago; therefore I cannot say much of Lincolnshire, for I know it not. But I dare say, if Lincolnshire be as other places that I know, this text condemneth a great many of Lincolnshire, and driveth them down to hell for breaking of this commandment, "Give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God."

The office of a magistrate is grounded upon God's word, and is plainly described of St Paul, writing unto the Romans, where he sheweth, that all souls, that is to say, all men ought to obey magistrates, for they are ordained of God; and to resist them is to resist against God. "For he is God's minister, ordained to punish the wicked, and maintain the good." Wherefore we ought to pay to him tribute, custom, taxes, and other things that he requireth upon us, as Christ saith here, *Reddite*, "give to Cæsar." How much we should give, he defineth not, but leaveth it to Cæsar's officers to determine, and to his council to appoint. Christ was not the emperor's treasurer: therefore he meddled not with that point, but left it to the treasurer to define and determine. He went about another vocation,—to preach unto the people their duty, and to obey their princes, kings, emperors, and magistrates; and to bid them give that the king requireth of them; not to appoint a king what he shall

require of them. It is meet for every man to keep his own vocation, and diligently walk in it; and with faithfulness to study to be occupied in that God hath called him unto, and not to be busy in that God hath not called him unto. Therefore saith Christ, "Give to Cæsar," but he appointeth not how much; for that should his treasurer know, and should warn him of it when he hath enough; that the people be not oppressed with unnecessary burthens, nor that the king's treasures be to seek when they should be occupied. The king must have his treasures aforehand, what chance soever come suddenly. It is no reason, when the king should occupy his treasure in maintenance of a commonwealth, in defence of a country, in maintaining of his wars, that then his money should be in thy purse to seek, and ungathered. Nay, he must have it in a readiness, at hand, that it be not to seek. And he must have as much as is necessary for him; for so much is due to a king as is necessary, and so much may he require by the law of God, and take of his commons, as is necessary. And that must not thou, nor I, that are subjects, appoint; but the king himself must appoint it; his council must appoint it. We must give it, we must pay it; for it is due to the king, and upon peril of thy soul thou must pay it. And as he that taketh my tippet or my cloak doth me wrong, and is a thief; so he that doth not pay to the king that is his due, without fraud or guile, doth the king wrong, and is in peril of his soul for so doing. Well; mark it well now, and see whether this text be a nipping text for covetous men, or no: "Give to Cæsar that is due to Cæsar."

When the parliament, the high court of this realm, is gathered together, and there it is determined that every man shall pay a fifteenth part of his goods to the king; then commissions come forth, and he that in sight of men, in his cattle, corn, sheep, and other goods, is worth an hundred mark or an hundred pound, will set himself at ten pound; he will be worth no more to the king but after ten pound: tell me now whether this be theft or no? His cattle, corn, sheep, in every man's eyes, shall be worth two hundred pounds besides other things, as money and plate; and he will marry his daughter, and give with her four or five hundred mark; and yet at the valuation he will be a twenty pound man: doth he give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar? Doth he not rather rob the king of his bound duty

and debt, that he owed to the king? Yes, it is very theft; and thou mightest with as good conscience take my cloak or my tippet from me, as so unjustly take or withhold from the king that which the parliament hath given unto the king. It is thy bounden duty to pay him truly that which is granted; for it is due debt, and upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey it. Yea, I will say more: if the king should require of thee an unjust request, yet art thou bound to pay it, and not to resist and rebel against the king. The king, indeed, is in peril of his soul, for asking of an unjust request; and God will in his due time reckon with him for it: but thou must obey thy king, and not take upon thee to judge him. God is the king's judge, and doubtless will grievously punish him if he do any thing unrighteously. Therefore pray thou for thy king, and pay him his duty, and disobey him not. And know this, that whensoever there is any unjust exaction laid upon thee, it is a plague and punishment for thy sin, as all other plagues are; as are hunger, dearth, pestilence, and such other. We marvel we are plagued as we be; and I think verily this unjust and unfaithful dealing with our princes is one great cause of our plague: look therefore every man upon his conscience. Ye shall not be judged by worldly policy at the latter day, but by God's word. *Sermo quem locutus sum vobis, ipse judicabit vos in novissimo die:* "The word that I have spoken to you, that shall judge you at the latter day." Look well now every man upon his conscience, and see whether ye have done this commandment of God. Give to your king that which is due to him; and he that findeth himself guilty, let him amend in time to come. "This is hard gear, and sore gear," thou wilt say. "Give, give! I have wife and children, and great charge!" Well, I shall tell thee, it minisheth not thy stock one farthing at the year's end. Hearken what God saith: *Si audieritis verba mea*, "If you will hear my words," saith God, "and keep that I command thee, I will bless thee." And, *Si non audieritis*, "If ye will not hear my words, and do my commandments, thou shalt be cursed," &c. What is blessing? Not wagging of the fingers, as our bishops were wont: but it is, "I will favour thee, and increase thy goods, thy corn, thy cattle, thy ox, thy sheep; and in all thy business thou shalt prosper and go forward." And what is the curse, but to be out of God's favour? "I will impoverish thee; thy corn,

thy cattle, thy ox, thy sheep, shall not prosper; what thou takest in hand, it shall not go forward." This was not taught in times past: men had pilgrimages, images, masses, trentals, &c.

But I would have you muse of these two points: cursed, if thou hear not God's word commanding thee to pay thy duty to the king; and blessed, if thou hear it and keep it. I would have you to muse of these two things: that it shall not minish thy stock. Shew me one man in all England, that is the poorer for paying the king his duty, for being a true dealing man, a good alms-man, &c. Many have come to poverty by dicing, carding, riot, whoredom, and such like; but never no man by truth, mercy, alms, right dealing with the king. In the Cardinal's[1] time men were put to their oaths, to swear what they were worth. It was a sore thing, and a thing I would wish not to be followed. O Lord, what perjury was in England by that swearing! I think this realm fareth the worse yet for that perjury; for doubtless, many a one willingly and wittingly forsware themselves at that time. "It is a dear time," thou wilt say, "and men have much ado to live; therefore it is good policy to set myself much less than I am." Well, that is thy worldly policy, and with it thou runnest into the curse of God for breaking his word and commandment, "Give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar." I will tell thee a good policy to keep thy stock, and to maintain thine estate; not a policy of the world, but of God's word; and it is this: *Quærite primum regnum Dei et justitiam ejus, et hæc omnia adjicientur vobis;* "Seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of it, and all things shall be plenteously given to you." Dost thou not believe this to be true? Is Christ a hollow man, an untrue man, a dissembler? The Pharisees make him a true man, and we make him a false harlot. He is a true man; and his words and promise are true. Nay, we be false, hollow-hearted, and therefore justly punished. For if we would credit his words, it should without doubt be given us abundantly upon heaps; yea, more than we could desire.

When we pray for things unto almighty God, what ask we? Do we ask forthwith at the first chop our necessaries? Nay, Christ taught us first to pray, "Our Father, which art in heaven; hallowed be thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy

[1] Cardinal Wolsey.

will be done in earth as it is in heaven," &c. First, we pray these petitions for faith, hope, and charity; that God's honour may in all things be set out among us; and then we pray after for bodily things. But now we leave these petitions, and would be in *panem nostrum*, "our daily bread," at the first dash: we would have our daily bread at the first chop; and so we have that, we force little of the other. We will not say in words, that we think God false, but in deeds we plainly affirm it: for we trust him not, neither believe his promise when he biddeth us, "Give, give; I will bless ye, I will make good my word." Nay, nay, we will scrape and scrawl, and catch and pull to us all that we may get. *Alii dividunt sua, et ditiores fiunt; alii rapiunt non sua, et semper in egestate sunt:* "Some men," saith Salomon, "divide their own goods; they pay the king his duty, every man his own; give alms, and yet are more richer; they have enough and enough. Other rob other men; scratch and scrape all that they may come by; never content, never enough; heap to heap; and yet are they always beggars."

Qui benedicit impinguabitur, "He that blesseth shall be fat and wealthy:" he that blesseth, not with wagging his fingers, but helping the poor people, he shall be blessed and ever have enough. God will bless him, God will increase him. And indeed so ought men to consider their gifts and goods to be given, *ut illorum copia aliorum succurrat inopiæ;* that their abundance might succour the necessity, poverty, and misery of their poor neighbours; and not to waste it, consume it in riot and excess, but in deeds of mercy, in deeds of charity, and pity upon the poor. *Qui miseretur pauperis, feneratur Domino:* "He that hath mercy upon the poor, he lendeth upon usury unto the Lord." This is a good usury, to make God thy debtor. Many lend upon worldly usury, which is surely a very wicked thing, and God forbiddeth it. But this usury God commandeth, and promiseth to supply the lack of it in thy coffers. He will be debtor, he will be paymaster. Thou shalt not find thy stock diminished at the year's end by keeping God's commandment, but rather blessed and increased. "Give therefore unto the king that is due unto the king; *et quæ sunt Dei Deo*, and give to God that which is God's." What is God's? That I give at God's bidding: the tithes, oblations, first-born of beasts, and sacrifice-cattle; which all God appointed unto the Jews to the maintenance of their church-ministers, of the

clergy, poor widows, fatherless children, maintenance of poor scholars. This was the cause that God assigned the Jews to pay their tithes; and until the coming of Christ they were due by God's law, and might by the law given to Moses be claimed. But now that law is at an end, neither can they be claimed any more by that law. Notwithstanding, now in the time of the new testament, the princes be bound to provide a sufficient living for the ministers, as St Paul saith, *Qui evangelium prædicant de evangelio vivant.* They that preach the gospel; this is the ministry of salvation, preaching of the gospel, and unto such ministers ye be bound to give a sufficient living. *Communicate catechizanti in omnibus bonis:* "Give part to him that teacheth you in all good things:" give him part of all your goods: see he have sufficient living. But who shall appoint him a sufficient living? himself? Nay. Who then? you? Nay, neither. The king must appoint him sufficient to live upon; for I think verily there are a great many, which if the minister should have no living but at their appointment, he should not have clouting leather to piece his shoes with; no, not clouting leather to his shoes. The king therefore must appoint the ministers their livings by his law; and that living that the king appointeth they must claim, and you must pay it to them truly; for it is their duty, and it is theft to withdraw it or hold it from them. For God commandeth you to obey your king's laws, and by the same laws the king giveth the minister his tithes and other duties. Therefore upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey thy king, and to pay thy curate that tithe that thou art commanded.

But some will say, "Our curate is naught; an ass-head; a dodipole; a lack-latin, and can do nothing. Shall I pay him my tithes, that doth us no good, nor none will do?" "Yea," I say, "thou must pay him his duty; and if he be such a one, complain to the bishop." "We have complained to the ordinary, and he is as negligent as he." Complain to the council. "Sir, so have we done, but no remedy can be had." Well, I can tell where thou shalt complain; complain to God, he will surely hear thee, he will remedy it. Christ saw the people lying, *tanquam oves non habentes pastores*, "as sheep having no shepherd." They had bishops, scribes, and Pharisees; curates in name, a great many; yet were they *tanquam oves non habentes pastorem*, "as sheep having no shepherd." What is that to say? They had no

true teachers; they had no preachers of the law of God to them. What remedy taught Christ for it? withdraw their livings? Nay. Make tumults? Nay: but *rogate Dominum messis*, "Pray the Lord of the harvest." Pray, pray. Prayer is the remedy that never faileth: when all other faileth, this never faileth. Therefore pray unto God, and he will either turn his heart, and make him better; or remove him from thee, and send a better in his place; or else take him away altogether. So will the Lord do with any other oppressors of the poor: either he will turn their hearts, and make them better; or else remove them, and take them quite away. Therefore let men be patient and suffer, and pray unto God for deliverance from their troubles, and not think to remedy it themselves; but pray to God, and he will remedy it. Pray, I say, and take patience, and you shall see the Lord will in due time remedy it.

There be many that turn this text clean contrary; for they yield to Cæsar that which is God's, and to God that which is Cæsar's. They had money enough to build monasteries, chantries, masses, year-days, trentals, to gild images, &c. And all this they did, say they, to honour God with. They would worship God with copes, torches, tapers, candles, and an hundred things more, that God never required at their hands. God requireth their hearts to fear him, and love him, and studiously to walk before him; but this inward service we will not give him. Nay, we give Cæsar our heart, and God our outward service, as all such do as have received the Interim.[1] God should possess our whole hearts, and we should most studiously walk, every man in his vocation, according to the word of God, according to his commandments; obeying our king, and succouring the poor and needy, as he hath commanded us. And this is God's true service, and the thing that belongeth to God.

If this be true, what is become of our forefathers? I answer, it is a vain and unprofitable question: either it needs not, or it boots not. Whatsoever they did, let us do well; let us keep God's bidding, God's commandments, and then

[1] A statement of doctrine drawn up in the year 1548 by Romish and Protestant divines, at the command of the emperor Charles V. The name of the *Interim* was given to this system of doctrine, because it was intended to remain in force only until a free General Council could be held, for the purpose of settling the religious controversies which had arisen in Germany. Sleidan, History of the Reformation, pp. 458, &c.; Robertson, Charles V. Book IX.

are we safe. When one dieth, we must have bells ringing, singing, and much ado: but to what purpose? Those that die in the favour of God are well; those that die out of the favour of God, this can do them no good. *Ubi ceciderit lignum, ibi erit;* "Where the tree falleth, there it shall remain." Study therefore to live in the favour and grace of God, in repentance, in amendment of life; and then diest thou well. Further, to the question of our forefathers, God knoweth his elect, and diligently watcheth and keepeth them, so that all things serve to their salvation. The nature of fire is to burn all that is laid in it; yet God kept the three young men in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moses saw a bush on fire, but it burnt not. So false doctrine as fire burneth, it corrupteth: but God kept his elect, that they were not corrupt with it, but always put their trust in one everliving God, through the death of Jesus Christ our Lord. In Elias' time idolatry and superstition reigned; so that Elias said, *Domine, altaria tua subverterunt,* "Lord, they have destroyed thine altars, and slain thy prophets and preachers, and I am left alone." But the Lord answered him, "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men that have not bowed their knees to Baal:" so God, I trust, reserved our forefathers, in so perilous times, more graciously than we can think. Let us thank God, then, for the gracious light of his word sent unto us; and pray for our gracious king and his council, that set it forth unto us. And as for our forefathers, seeing we have no charge given us of God, leave them, and commend them unto God's mercy, who disposed better for them than we can wish.

But some will say now, "What need we preachers then? God can save his elect without preachers." A goodly reason! God can save my life without meat and drink; need I none therefore? God can save me from burning, if I were in the fire; shall I run into it therefore? No, no; I must keep the way that God hath ordained, and use the ordinary means that God hath assigned, and not seek new ways This office of preaching is the only ordinary way that God hath appointed to save us all by. Let us maintain this, for I know none other; neither think I God will appoint or devise any other.

"Pay therefore to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar." And this said Christ by an heathen king, a paynim: how much more ought we to pay to our Cæsar, our liege lord

and king, a christian king, and so godly and virtuous a learned king! And "pay to God that is due to God:" tithes and all duties belonging to the ministers and preachers of this office of salvation, give to them without dissembling, without withdrawing or abridging of their duties. Take heed of lying, and setting thyself at less than thou art. Mark the example of Ananias and Saphira his wife: they died suddenly for their lying and dissimulation in the like matter.

Well, this was Christ's doctrine: this was his answer: "Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's." *Et non potuerunt reprehendere verbum ejus coram populo:* "And they could not find fault in his word before the people;" it was so just, so consonant with scriptures and with reason. Yet afterward they falsified his word before Pilate, accusing him, *Hunc deprehendimus evertentem gentem, et vetantem tributa dari Cæsari;* "We found this fellow turning away the people's hearts, and forbidding the tribute to be given to Cæsar." These be perilous people to meddle withal, malicious and uncharitable; that care not what slander they accuse a man of. Deny: they are ready to accuse. Affirm: they will yet falsify his word. Then it is best to say nothing at all. Nay, not so. Let us speak God's truth, and live according to his commandment; he shall deliver us from the hands of our adversaries, and make us safe in his heavenly kingdom. Let us, I say, do God's bidding and commandment. Give to our king our duties. Truly we shall have never the less; it shall not minish our stock, we shall rather have the more. For God is true of his promise. Let us maintain the necessary office of salvation; pay to the ministers the things appointed them; maintain scholars and schools; help the poor widows and fatherless children; study to do good while we have time in this present life: so shall the Lord in this life bless us, and after this life give us eternal life through Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all laud and honour. *Amen.*

Marvel not that I use at the sermon's end to make prayer, for I do it not of singularity: but when I am at home, and in the country where I go, sometime when the poor people come and ask at me, I appose[1] them myself,

[1] Question, examine.

or cause my servant to appose them, of the Lord's prayer; and they answer some, "I can say my Latin *Pater-noster;*" some, "I can say the old *Pater-noster*, but not the new." Therefore that all that cannot say it may learn, I use before the sermon and after to say it. Wherefore now I beseech you, let us say it together:

"Our Father, which art," &c.

SERMONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

Certain Sermons made by the Right Reverend Father in God, Master Doctor Latimer, before the Right Virtuous and Honourable Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, in the year of our Lord, 1552.

Our Father, which art in heaven.—MATTHEW vi. 9.

I HAVE entered of late in the way of preaching, and spoken many things of prayer, and rather of prayer than of any other thing: for I think there is nothing more necessary to be spoken of, nor more abused than prayer was by the craft and subtilty of the devil; for many things were taken for prayer when they were nothing less. Therefore at this same time also I have thought it good to entreat of prayer, to the intent that it might be known how precious a thing right prayer is. I told you,

First, What prayer is.

Secondarily, To whom we ought to pray.

Thirdly, Where, and in what place we ought to pray. And,

Fourthly, I told you the diversity of prayer, namely, of the common prayer, and the private.

These and such like things I have dilated and expounded unto you in the open pulpit.

Now at the present time I intend as by the way of a lecture, at the request of my most gracious lady, to expound unto you, her household servants, and other that be willing to hear, the right understanding and meaning of this most perfect prayer which our Saviour himself taught us, at the request of his disciples, which prayer we call the *Paternoster.* This prayer of our Lord may be called a prayer above all prayers; the principal and most perfect prayer; which prayer ought to be regarded above all others, considering that our Saviour himself is the author of it; he was the maker of this prayer, being very God and very man. He taught us this prayer, which is a most perfect schoolmaster, and commanded

us to say it: which prayer containeth great and wonderful things, if a learned man had the handling of it. But as for me, such things as I have conceived by the reading of learned men's books, so far forth as God will give me his grace and Spirit, I will shew unto you touching the very meaning of it, and what is to be understood by every word contained in this prayer; for there is no word idle or spoken in vain. For it must needs be perfect, good, and of great importance, being our Saviour's teaching, which is the wisdom of God itself. There be many other psalms and prayers in scripture very good and godly; and it is good to know them: but it is with this prayer, the Lord's Prayer, I say, like as with the law of love. All the laws of Moses, as concerning what is to be done to please God, how to walk before him uprightly and godly, all such laws are contained in this law of love, *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua; et proximum sicut teipsum:* "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself." Even so is it with this prayer. For like as the law of love is the sum and abridgment of the other laws, so this prayer is the sum and abridgment of all other prayers: all the other prayers are contained in this prayer; yea, whatsoever mankind hath need of to soul and body, that same is contained in this prayer.

This prayer hath two parts: it hath a preface, which some call a salutation or a loving entrance; secondarily, the prayer itself. The entrance is this: *Cum oratis, dicite, Pater noster, qui es in cœlis;* "When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven." As who should say, "You christian people, you that bear the name of Christians, must pray so."

Before I go any further, I must put you in remembrance to consider how much we be bound to our Saviour Christ, that he would vouchsafe to teach us to pray, and in this prayer to signify unto us the good-will which our heavenly Father beareth towards us. Now to the matter.

"Our Father." These words pertain not to the petitions: they be but an entering, a seeking favour at God's hand: yet if we well weigh and consider them, they admonish us of many things and strengthen our faith wondrous well. For this word, "Father," signifieth that we be Christ's brothers, and that God is our Father. He is the eldest Son: he is the

Son of God by nature, we be his sons by adoption through his goodness; therefore he biddeth us to call him our Father; which is to be had in fresh memory and great reputation. For here we are admonished how that we be reconciled unto God; we, which before-times were his enemies, are made now the children of God, and inheritors of everlasting life. This we be admonished by this word, "Father." So that it is a word of much importance and great reputation: for it confirmeth our faith, when we call him Father. Therefore our Saviour, when he teacheth us to call God "Father," teacheth us to understand the fatherly affection which God beareth towards us; which thing maketh us bold and hearty to call upon him, knowing that he beareth a good-will towards us, and that he will surely hear our prayers. When we be in trouble, we doubt of a stranger, whether he will help us or not: but our Saviour commanding us to call God, "Father," teacheth us to be assured of the love and good-will of God toward us. So by this word "Father," we learn to stablish and to comfort our faith, knowing most assuredly that he will be good unto us. For Christ was a perfect schoolmaster: he lacked no wisdom: he knew his Father's will and pleasure; he teacheth us, yea, and most certainly assureth us, that God will be no cruel judge, but a loving Father. Here we see what commodities we have in this word, "Father."

Seeing now that we find such commodities by this one word, we ought to consider the whole prayer with great diligence and earnest mind. For there is no word nor letter contained in this prayer, but it is of great importance and weight; and therefore it is necessary for us to know and understand it thoroughly, and then to speak it considerately with great devotion: else it is to no purpose to speak the words without understanding; it is but lip-labour and vain babbling, and so unworthy to be called prayer; as it was in times past used in England. Therefore when you say this prayer, you must well consider what you say: for it is better once said deliberately with understanding, than a thousand times without understanding: which is in very deed but vain babbling, and so more a displeasure than pleasure unto God. For the matter lieth not in much saying, but in well saying. So, if it be said to the honour of God, then it hath his effect, and we shall have our petitions. For God is true in his promises: and our Saviour, knowing him to be well affected towards us, commandeth us therefore to call him Father.

Here you must understand, that like as our Saviour was most earnest and fervent in teaching us how to pray, and call upon God for aid and help, and for things necessary both to our souls and bodies; so the devil, that old serpent, with no less diligence endeavoureth himself to let and stop our prayers, so that we shall not call upon God. And amongst other his lets, he hath one especially wherewith he thinketh to keep us from prayer, which is, the remembrance of our sins. When he perceiveth us to be disposed to pray, he cometh with his craft and subtile conveyances, saying, "What, wilt thou pray unto God for aid and help? Knowest thou not that thou art a wicked sinner, and a transgressor of the law of God? Look rather to be damned, and judged for thy ill doings, than to receive any benefit at his hands. Wilt thou call him 'Father,' which is so holy a God, and thou art so wicked and miserable a sinner?" This the devil will say, and trouble our minds, to stop and let us from our prayer; and so to give us occasion not to pray unto God. In this temptation we must seek for some remedy and comfort: for the devil doth put us in remembrance of our sins to that end, to keep us from prayer and invocation of God. The remedy for this temptation is to call our Saviour to remembrance, who hath taught us to say this prayer. He knew his Father's pleasure; he knew what he did. When he commanded us to call God our Father, he knew we should find fatherly affections in God towards us. Call this, I say, to remembrance, and again remember that our Saviour hath cleansed through his passion all our sins, and taken away all our wickedness; so that as many as believe in him shall be the children of God. In such wise let us strive and fight against the temptations of the devil; which would not have us to call upon God, because we be sinners. Catch thou hold of our Saviour, believe in him, be assured in thy heart that he with his suffering took away all thy sins. Consider again, that our Saviour calleth us to prayer, and commandeth us to pray. Our sins let us, and withdraw us from prayer; but our Saviour maketh them nothing: when we believe in him, it is like as if we had no sins. For he changeth with us: he taketh our sins and wickedness from us, and giveth unto us his holiness, righteousness, justice, fulfilling of the law, and so, consequently, everlasting life: so that we be like as if we had done no sin at all; for his righteousness standeth us in so good stead, as though we of our own selves had fulfilled the law to the

uttermost. Therefore our sins cannot let us, nor withdraw us from prayer: for they be gone; they are no sins; they cannot be hurtful unto us. Christ dying for us, as all the scripture, both of the new and old Testament, witnesseth, *Dolores nostros ipse portavit*, "He hath taken away our sorrows." Like as when I owe unto a man an hundred pound: the day is expired, he will have his money; I have it not, and for lack of it I am laid in prison. In such distress cometh a good friend, and saith, "Sir, be of good cheer, I will pay thy debts;" and forthwith payeth the whole sum, and setteth me at liberty. Such a friend is our Saviour. He hath paid our debts, and set us at liberty; else we should have been damned world without end in everlasting prison and darkness. Therefore, though our sins condemn us, yet when we allege Christ and believe in him, our sins shall not hurt us. For St John saith, *Si quis peccaverit, advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum justum*, "We have an advocate with God the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Mark that he saith, *Advocatum, non advocatos*. He speaketh singularly, not plurally. We have one advocate, not many; neither saints, nor anybody else, but only him, and none other, neither by the way of mediation, nor by the way of redemption. He only is sufficient, for he only is all the doer. Let him have all the whole praise! Let us not withdraw from him his majesty, and give it to creatures: for he only satisfieth for the sins of the whole world; so that all that believe in Christ be clean from all the filthiness of their sins. For St John Baptist saith, *Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world." Doth the devil call thee from prayer? Christ calleth thee unto it again: for so it is written, *In hoc apparuit Filius Dei, ut destruat opera diaboli;* "To that end the Son of God appeared, to destroy the works of the devil."

But mark here: scripture speaketh not of impenitent sinners; Christ suffered not for them: his death remedieth not their sins. For they be the bondmen of the devil, and his slaves; and therefore Christ's benefits pertain not unto them. It is a wonderful saying that St John hath, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." The devil saith unto me, "Thou art a sinner." "No," saith St John, "the Lamb of God hath taken away thy sins." Item, *Habentes igitur Pontificem magnum qui*

penetravit cœlos, Jesum Filium Dei, accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ, ut consequamur misericordiam; "We therefore having a great high Priest, which hath passed through the heavens, even Jesus the Son of God, let us with boldness go unto the seat of his grace, that we may obtain mercy." O, it is a comfortable thing that we have an access unto God! Esay saith, *In livore ejus sanati sumus;* "The pain of our punishment was laid upon him, and with his stripes are we healed." Further, in the new Testament we read, *Huic omnes prophetæ testimonium perhibent, remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen ejus omnes qui credunt in eum;* "Unto the same bear all prophets witness, that all they do receive forgiveness of sins by his name, which believe on him."

Now you see how ye be remedied from your sins; you hear how you shall withstand the devil, when he will withdraw you from prayer. Let us therefore not give over prayer, but stick unto it. Let us rather believe Christ our Saviour than the devil, which was a liar from the beginning. You know now how you may prevent him, how you may put him off and avoid his temptations.

There is one other addition afore we come to the petitions, which doth much confirm our faith and increase the same: *Qui es in cœlis*, "which art in heaven." These words put a diversity between the heavenly Father, and our temporal fathers. There be some temporal fathers which would fain help their children, but they cannot; they be not able to help them. Again, there be some fathers which are rich, and might help their children, but they be so unnatural, they will not help them. But our heavenly Father, in that we call him, "Father," we learn that he will help, that he beareth a fatherly love towards us.

"In heaven." Here we learn that he is able to help us, to give us all good things necessary to soul and body; and is mighty to defend us from all ill and peril. So it appeareth that he is a Father which will help; and that he being celestial, he is able to help us. Therefore we may have a boldness and confidence, that he may help us: and that he will help us, where and whensoever we call, he saith, *Cœlum et terram impleo*, "I fill heaven and earth." And again, *Cœlum mihi sedes est, et terra scabellum pedum meorum;* "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool." Where we see, that he is a mighty God; that he is in heaven

and earth, with his power and might. In heaven he is apparently, where face to face he sheweth himself unto his angels and saints. In earth he is not so apparently, but darkly, and obscurely he exhibiteth himself unto us; for our corrupt and feeble flesh could not bear his majesty. Yet he filleth the earth; that is to say, he ruleth and governeth the same, ordering all things according unto his will and pleasure. Therefore we must learn to persuade ourselves, and undoubtedly believe, that he is able to help; and that he beareth a good and fatherly will towards us; that he will not forget us. Therefore the king and prophet David saith, *Dominus de cœlo prospexit*, "The Lord hath seen down from heaven." As far as the earth is from the heaven, yet God looketh down, he seeth all things, he is in every corner. He saith, The Lord hath looked down, not the saints. No, he saith not so; for the saints have not so sharp eyes to see down from heaven: they be pur-blind, and sand-blind, they cannot see so far; nor have not so long ears to hear. And therefore our petition and prayer should be unto him, which will hear and can hear. For it is the Lord that looketh down. He is here in earth, as I told you, very darkly; but he is in heaven most manifestly; where he sheweth himself unto his angels and saints face to face. We read in scripture, that Abel's blood did cry unto God. Where it appeareth that he can hear, yea, not only hear, but also see, and feel: for he seeth over all things, so that the least thought of our hearts is not hid from him. Therefore ponder and consider these words well, for they fortify our faith. We call him "Father," to put ourselves in remembrance of his good-will towards us. "Heavenly" we call him, signifying his might and power, that he may help and do all things according to his will and pleasure. So it appeareth most manifestly, that there lacketh neither good-will nor power in him. There was once a prophet, which, when he was ill entreated of king Joash, said, *Dominus videat et requirat;* "The Lord look upon it, and requite it." There be many men in England, and other where else, which care not for God, yea, they be clean without God; which say in their hearts, *Nubes latibulum ejus, nec nostra considerat, et circa cardines cœli ambulat:* "Tush, the clouds cover him that he may not see, and he dwelleth above in heaven." But, as I told you before, Abel's blood may certify of his present knowledge. Let us therefore take heed that we do

nothing that might displease his majesty, neither openly nor secretly: for he is every where, and nothing can be hid from him. *Videt et requiret*, "He seeth, and will punish it."

Further, this word "Father" is not only apt and convenient for us to strengthen our faith withal, as I told you; but also it moveth God the sooner to hear us, when we call him by that name, "Father." For he, perceiving our confidence in him, cannot choose but shew him like a Father. So that this word, "Father," is most meet to move God to pity and to grant our requests. Certain it is, and proved by holy scripture, that God hath a fatherly and loving affection towards us, far passing the love of bodily parents to their children. Yea, as far as heaven and earth is asunder, so far his love towards mankind exceedeth the love of natural parents to their children: which love is set out by the mouth of his holy prophet Esay, where he saith, *Num oblivioni tradet mulier infantem suum, quo minus misereatur filii uteri sui? Et si obliviscatur illa, ego tamen tui non obliviscar:* "Can a wife forget the child of her womb, and the son whom she hath borne? And though she do forget him, yet will I not forget thee." Here are shewed the affections and unspeakable love which God beareth towards us. He saith, *Nunquid potest mulier*, "May a woman?" He speaketh of the woman, meaning the man too; but because women most commonly are more affected towards their children than men be, therefore he nameth the woman. And it is a very unnatural woman, that hateth her child, or neglecteth the same. But, O Lord, what crafts and conveyances useth the devil abroad, that he can bring his matters so to pass, that some women set aside not only all motherly affections, but also all natural humanity, insomuch that they kill their own children, their own blood and flesh! I was a late credibly informed of a priest, which had taken in hand to be a midwife. O what an abominable thing is this! But what followed? He ordered the matter so, that the poor innocent was lost in the mean season. Such things the devil can bring to pass; but what then? God saith, "Though a woman do forget her children, though they kill them, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord God Almighty." Truth it is, there be some women very unnatural and unkind, which shall receive their punishments of God for it; but for all that we ought to beware and not to believe every tale told unto us,

and so rashly judge. I know what I mean. There hath been a late such tales spread abroad, and most untruly. Such false tale-tellers shall have a grievous punishment of the Lord, when he shall come to reward every one according unto his deserts.

Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for God's word sake; the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge; for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge: and he came to me afterward in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so; and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries. Now, after I had been acquainted with him, I went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower at Cambridge; for he was ever visiting prisoners, and sick folk. So we went together, and exhorted them as well as we were able to do; moving them to patience, and to acknowledge their faults. Among other prisoners, there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and stedfastly denied, and could not be brought to confess the act; which denying gave us occasion to search for the matter, and so we did. And at the length we found that her husband loved her not; and therefore he sought means to make her out of the way. The matter was thus: a child of hers had been sick by the space of a year, and so decayed as it were in a consumption. At the length it died in harvest-time. She went to her neighbours and other friends to desire their help, to prepare the child to the burial; but there was nobody at home: every man was in the field. The woman, in an heaviness and trouble of spirit, went, and being herself alone, prepared the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, not having great love towards her, accused her of the murder; and so she was taken and brought to Cambridge. But as far forth as I could learn through earnest inquisition, I thought in my conscience the woman was not guilty, all the circumstances well considered.

Immediately after this I was called to preach before the king, which was my first sermon that I made before his majesty, and it was done at Windsor; where his majesty, after the sermon was done, did most familiarly talk with me in a gallery. Now, when I saw my time, I kneeled down before his majesty, opening the whole matter; and afterwards most humbly desired his majesty to pardon that woman. For I thought in my conscience she was not guilty; else I would not for all the world sue for a murderer. The king most graciously heard my humble request, insomuch that I had a pardon ready for her at my return homeward. In the mean season that same woman was delivered of a child in the tower at Cambridge, whose godfather I was, and Mistress Cheke was godmother. But all that time I hid my pardon, and told her nothing of it, only exhorting her to confess the truth, At the length the time came when she looked to suffer: I came, as I was wont to do, to instruct her; she made great moan to me, and most earnestly required me that I would find the means that she might be purified before her suffering; for she thought she should have been damned, if she should suffer without purification. Where Master Bilney and I told her, that that law was made unto the Jews, and not unto us; and that women lying in child-bed be not unclean before God; neither is purification used to that end, that it should cleanse from sin; but rather a civil and politic law, made for natural honesty sake; signifying, that a woman before the time of her purification, that is to say, as long as she is a green woman, is not meet to do such acts as other women, nor to have company with her husband: for it is against natural honesty, and against the commonwealth. To that end purification is kept and used, not to make a superstitution or holiness of it, as some do; which think that they may not fetch neither fire nor any thing in that house where there is a green woman; which opinion is erroneous and wicked. For women, as I said afore, be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after. So we travailed with this woman till we brought her to a good trade; and at the length shewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This tale I told you by this occasion, that though some women be very unnatural, and forget their children, yet when we hear any body so report, we should not be too hasty in believing the tale, but rather suspend our judgments till we

know the truth. And again, we shall mark hereby the great love and loving-kindness of God our loving Father, who sheweth himself so loving unto us, that notwithstanding women forget sometimes their own natural children, yet he will not forget us; he will hear us when we call upon him; as he saith by the evangelist Matthew: "Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," &c. Then he cometh and bringeth in a pretty similitude, saying: "Is there any man amongst you, which, if his son ask bread, will offer him a stone? If ye then," *cum sitis mali*, "being evil, can give your children good gifts," &c. In these words, where he saith, *cum sitis mali*, "which be evil," he giveth us our own proper name; he painteth us out, he pincheth us; he cutteth off our combs; he plucketh down our stomachs. And here we learn to acknowledge ourselves to be wicked, and to know him to be the well-spring and fountain of all goodness, and that all good things come of him. Therefore let every man think lowly of himself, humble himself and call upon God, which is ready to give us not only bread and drink, or other necessaries, but the Holy Ghost. To whom will he give the Holy Ghost? To lords and ladies, to gentlemen or gentlewomen? No, not so. He is not ruled by affections: he hath not respect unto personages. *Poscentibus*, saith he, "unto those which call upon him," being rich or poor, lords or knights, beggars or rich; he is ready to give unto them when they come to him. And this is a great comfort unto those which be poor and miserable in this world; for they may be assured of the help of God, yea, and as boldly go unto him, and desire his help, as the greatest king in earth. But we must ask, we must inquire for it; he would have us to be importunate, to be earnest and diligent in desiring; then we shall receive when we come with a good faith and confidence. To whom shall we call? Not unto the saints. *Poscentibus illum*, saith he. Those that call upon him shall be heard. Therefore we ought to come to him only, and not unto his saints.

But one word is left, which we must needs consider; *Noster*, "our." He saith not "my," but "our." Wherefore saith he "our?" This word "our" teacheth us to consider that the Father of heaven is a common Father; as well my neighbour's Father as mine; as well the poor man's Father as the rich: so that he is not a peculiar Father, but a

Father to the whole church and congregation, to all the faithful. Be they never so poor, so vile, so foul and despised, yet he is their Father as well as mine: and therefore I should not despise them, but consider that God is their Father as well as mine. Here may we perceive what communion is between us; so that when I pray, I pray not for myself alone, but for all the rest: again, when they pray, they pray not for themselves only, but for me: for Christ hath so framed this prayer, that I must needs include my neighbour in it. Therefore all those which pray this prayer, they pray as well for me as for themselves; which is a great comfort to every faithful heart, when he considereth that all the church prayeth for him. For amongst such a great number there be some which be good, and whose prayer God will hear: as it appeared by Abraham's prayer, which prayer was so effectuous, that God would have pardoned Sodome and Gomorre, if he might have found but ten good persons therein. Likewise St Paul in shipwreck preserved his company by his prayer. So that it is a great comfort unto us to know that all good and faithful persons pray for us.

There be some learned men which gather out of scripture, that the prayer of St Stephen was the occasion of the conversion of St Paul. St Chrysostom saith, that that prayer that I make for myself is the best, and is of more efficacy than that which is made in common. Which saying I like not very well. For our Saviour was better learned than St Chrysostom. He taught us to pray in common for all; therefore we ought to follow him, and to be glad to pray one for another: for we have a common saying among us, "Whosoever loveth me, loveth my hound." So, whosoever loveth God, will love his neighbour, which is made after the image of God.

And here is to be noted, that prayer hath one property before all other good works: for with my alms I help but one or two at once, but with my faithful prayer I help all. I desire God to comfort all men living, but specially *domesticos fidei*, "those which be of the household of faith." Yet we ought to pray with all our hearts for the other, which believe not, that God will turn their hearts and renew them with his Spirit; yea, our prayers reach so far, that our very capital enemy ought not to be omitted. Here you see what an excellent thing prayer is, when it proceedeth

from a faithful heart; it doth far pass all the good works that men can do.

Now to make an end: we are monished here of charity, and taught that God is not only a private Father, but a common Father unto the whole world, unto all faithful; be they never so poor and miserable in this world, yet he is their Father. Where we may learn humility and lowliness: specially great and rich men shall learn here not to be lofty or to despise the poor. For when ye despise the poor miserable man, whom despise ye? Ye despise him which calleth God his Father as well as you; and peradventure more acceptable and more regarded in his sight than you be. Those proud persons may learn here to leave their stubbornness and loftiness. But there be a great many which little regard this: they think themselves better than other men be, and so despise and contemn the poor; insomuch that they will not hear poor men's causes, nor defend them from wrong and oppression of the rich and mighty. Such proud men despise the Lord's prayer: they should be as careful for their brethren as for themselves. And such humility, such love and carefulness towards our neighbours, we learn by this word "Our." Therefore I desire you on God's behalf, let us cast away all disdainfulness, all proudness, yea, and all bibble-babble. Let us pray this prayer with understanding and great deliberation; not following the trade of monkery, which was without all devotion and understanding. There be but few which can say from the bottom of their hearts, "Our Father;" a little number. Neither the Turks, neither the Jews, nor yet the impenitent sinners, can call God their Father. Therefore it is but vain babbling, whatsoever they pray: God heareth them not, he will not receive their prayers. The promise of hearing is made unto them only which be faithful and believe in God; which endeavour themselves to live according unto his commandments. For scripture saith, *Oculi Domini super justos;* "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears open unto their prayers." But who are those righteous? Every penitent sinner, that is sorry from the bottom of his heart for his wickedness, and believeth that God will forgive him his sins for his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. This is called in scripture "a just man," that endeavoureth himself to leave all wickedness. In such sort Peter and Paul were just, because they did repent, and believe in Christ,

and so endeavoured themselves to live according unto God's laws. Therefore like as they were made just before God, so may we too; for we have even the self-same promise. Let us therefore follow their ensample. Let us forsake all sins and wickedness; then God will hear our prayers. For scripture saith, *Dominus facit quicquid volunt timentes eum, et clamorem eorum exaudit ac servat eos:* "The Lord fulfilleth the desire of them that fear him; he also will hear their cry, and help them." In another place he saith, *Si manseritis in sermone meo, et verba mea custodieritis, quicquid volueritis petentes accipietis:* "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask what ye will, and it shall be done for you." So we see that the promises pertain only to the faithful; to those which endeavour themselves to live according to God's will and pleasure; which can be content to leave their wickedness, and follow godliness: those God will hear at all times, whensoever they shall call upon him.

Remember now what I have said: remember what is meant by this word "our;" namely, that it admonisheth us of love and charity; it teacheth us to beware of stubbornness and proudness; considering that God loveth as well the beggar as the rich man, for he regardeth no persons. Again, what is to be understood by this word "Father;" namely, that he beareth a good will towards us, that he is ready and willing to help us. "Heavenly," that admonisheth us of his potency and ability, that he is ruler over all things. This, I say, remember, and follow it: then we shall receive all things necessary for this life; and finally everlasting joy and felicity. Amen. Let us pray, "Our Father."

SERMONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Second Sermon upon the Lord's Prayer, made by Master Latimer.

Sanctificetur nomen tuum.—MATTHEW VI. 9.
Hallowed be thy name.

THESE few words contain the first petition of the Lord's prayer: the other words which go before this be no part of this petition, but rather an introduction unto these petitions: and they be like a preface, or learned entrance to the matter, that the petitions might be the sooner and with more favour heard. For our Saviour being a perfect schoolmaster, as a learned and an expert orator, teacheth us how we should begin our prayer that we might be speedily heard, and how to get favour at God's hand.

I have a manner of teaching, which is very tedious to them that be learned. I am wont ever to repeat those things which I have said before, which repetitions are nothing pleasant to the learned: but it is no matter, I care not for them; I seek more the profit of those which be ignorant, than to please learned men. Therefore I oftentimes repeat such things which be needful for them to know; for I would speak so that they might be edified withal.

I spake some things this day in the commendation of this prayer: and first I told you, that it was our Saviour's own making and handwork, which is a perfect schoolmaster, put in authority by God the heavenly Father himself, which saith, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacitum est; ipsum audite:* "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I have pleasure; hear him."

This prayer is a perfect prayer, an abridgment and compendious sum of all other prayers. There is nothing that we have need of, neither to our souls or bodies, but it is contained in some of these petitions; nor nothing that God

promiseth in his word to give us, but it is expressed in one of these seven petitions.

I shewed you this day why we call God "Father;" namely, because he beareth a loving and fatherly heart towards us. It is a sweet word, "Father;" and a word that pleaseth God much when it is spoken with a faithful heart, which above all things God requireth. This word "Father" moveth God's affection, in a manner, towards us, so that he, hearing the word "Father," cannot choose but shew himself a Father indeed. So that it is a word profitable to us in God's behalf, and, again, for our ownselves: for it moveth God to pity, and also helpeth our faith; so that we doubt not, but that we shall find him a Father, which will grant our requests and petitions made unto him in the name of Christ. Now what crafts and conveyances the devil useth to withdraw and let us from prayer, I told you to-day aforenoon. If you exercise prayers, you shall find the temptations of the devil, for he sleepeth not: he ever intendeth to withdraw us from prayer. But I told you what remedy you shall use against him; how you shall strive against him, namely, with faith; believing that our Saviour hath taken away our sins, so that they cannot hurt us. For they be no sins in the sight of God; for he hath taken away both the guiltiness of sins, and the pains and punishments which follow sins. Christ hath deserved that those which believe in him shall be quit from all their sins. These benefits of Christ are set out in scripture, in many places; and these be the weapons wherewith we must fight against the devil and his illusions;—not with holy water: for I tell you, the devil is not afraid of holy water. It is Christ that hath gotten the victory over him; it is he that vanquisheth the serpent's head, and not holy water.

Further, in that we call him "Father," his will and fatherly affections are expressed: that we call him "heavenly Father," his might and power, his omnipotency, is expounded unto us. So that you perceive that he is both loving and kind towards us; that he beareth a good-will, and also is able to help, able to defend us from all our enemies, spiritual and temporal. Therefore let us put our trust and confidence in him: let us not despair of his help, seeing he is so loving, kind, and gentle towards us; and then so mighty, that he hath all things in his hands. This affection and love towards us passeth all motherly affections.

And here I brought in to-day a woman which was

accused that she should have killed her child, I told you what business good Master Bilney and I had with her, afore we could bring her to a good trade. For she thought herself to be damned, if she should suffer before her purification. There I told you, that purification is continued in the church of God for natural honesty's sake, that man and wife should not company together afore that time; and not to that end, that it should cleanse from sin: for there is nothing that cleanseth from sin, neither in heaven nor in earth, saving only the blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ. For how can a woman having company with her husband, and bringing forth children according unto God's injunction, how can she be made an heathen woman, doing nothing but that God hath commanded her to do? Therefore against such foolish opinions that women have, thinking themselves out of the favour of God, lying in child-bed, I spake to-day, and told you how that is no offence afore God; only let every man and wife take heed and use themselves honestly: for a man may sin deadly with his own wife, if he, contrary to God's order, misuse her.

Further, you have heard how the good-will of God towards us is set out by this word "Father," and his power and omnipotency by this word "heavenly:" but I would have you to consider well this word "our;" for it is a great help unto us, and strengtheneth much our faith, so that we may be assured that every good man in the whole world will pray for us and with us, whilst we have one Father and one manner of prayer. And this word "our" putteth us in remembrance that we be brethren in Christ: where we be admonished to despise no man, be he never so miserable or poor; for we have all one Father, which hath made us all of one metal of earth. So that the highest prince in the world is made as well of earth as the poorest; and so shall turn into the same again, as well as the poorest shepherd. Let these proud persons mark this well, which be ever ready to despise every man. Such proud persons say never the Lord's prayer with good mind: yea, God is not their Father, for he abhorreth all proudness. Therefore such stubborn fellows when they will pray, they should not say, "Our Father which art in heaven;" but rather, "Our Father which art in hell." God is their father, as concerning their substance, for he giveth them souls and bodies; but they make themselves the members of the devil,

contrary unto God's will and pleasure. Therefore set aside all arrogancy and proudness; likewise all superstitious and hypocritical babbling, speaking many words to little purpose: as I heard say of some lawyers, which babble and prate, and pretend a great diligence and earnest desire to defend the poor man's cause; but in their hearts they be false, they seek money and nothing else; so that their hearts and mouth disagree. Let us, I say, not follow such lawyers; let us not make a shew of holiness with much babbling, for God hath no pleasure in it; therefore away with it: yea, not alone with this, but with all that may let us in our prayer. Set it aside, and come reverently to talk with God. Like as when you go to the communion, you must be prepared unto it, you must be in charity with your neighbour; so likewise, when you will talk with God, and pray to him, you must be prepared.

Here you may perceive, that all those persons that will not be corrected for their faults, that cannot bear godly admonitions, they talk never with God to his pleasure; they be not ruled by God's Spirit, and so not meet for him. All rebellious persons, all blood-thirsty persons, all covetous persons, all lecherous persons, all liars, drunkards, and such like, be not in the case to talk with God. God will not hear them; he cannot abide them; they stink before his face, as long as they come before him with such abominable sins, not intending to leave them. Remember now what a doctrine is contained in this preface. Weigh it; for it is better to say it sententiously one time, than to run it over an hundred times with humbling and mumbling.

Now, when we have begun as we ought to do, what shall we desire? *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, "Hallowed be thy name." Thy name, "Father," be hallowed, be sanctified, be magnified. What is this? What meant our Saviour, when he commandeth us that we shall desire that God's name be hallowed? There is a great number of people which speak these words with their mouth, but not with their hearts, contrary to that saying, *Quicquid petimus ardenter petamus, tanquam cupientes habere.* But they say it without knowledge; therefore they say it not, *ut oportet*, as they ought to do. "Thy name:" we require not that his name may be hallowed in him; for this is already done without our prayer: but we desire that he will give us grace, and assist us, that we in all our doings throughout our life may sanctify his

name. And here we are admonished again of love and charity: for when we say, "Hallowed be thy name," we ask in all men's names. Where we may perceive what communion and fellowship is between the faithful flock of God; for every faithful man and woman requireth that the whole church may hallow and sanctify God's word.

What is it to be "hallowed?" We desire that the name of God may be revealed, opened, manifested, and credited throughout all the world. What is God's "name?" Marry, all that is spoken of him in holy scripture, that is his name. He is called *Clemens*, "Gracious;" *Misericors*, "Merciful;" *Justus*, "Righteous;" *Puniens iniquitatem*, "A punisher of wickedness;" *Verax*, "True;" *Omnipotens*, "Almighty;" *Longanimis*, "Long-suffering, patient;" *Fortis*, "Hardy;" *Ignis consumens*, "A consuming fire;" *Rex omnis terræ*, "the King over the whole earth;" *Judex*, "A Judge;" *Salvator*, "A Saviour." These and such like are the names of God. Now when I make my petition unto him, saying, "Hallowed be thy name;" I desire that his name may be revealed, that we may know what scripture speaketh of him, and so believe that same, and live after it. I do not desire that his name be hallowed of himself, for it needeth not; he is holy already: but I desire that he will give us his Spirit, that we may express him in all our doings and conversations; so that it may appear by our deeds, that God is even such one indeed as scripture doth report him. We are tried many times whether his name be hallowed amongst us or no. He sendeth us trouble and adversities to prove us, whether we will hallow his name or no. But he findeth us clean contrary. For some of us, when we be in trouble, do run hither and thither to sorcerers and witches, to get remedy. Some, again, swear and curse; but such fellows hallow not the name of God. But God is *vindex severus*, "a sharp punisher:" he will punish sin, and those which blaspheme his holy name.

I heard of late that there be some wicked persons, despisers of God and his benefits, which say, "It is no matter whatsoever we do; we be baptized: we cannot be damned; for all those that be baptized, and be called Christians, shall be saved." This is a false and wicked opinion; and I assure you that such which bear the name of Christians, and be baptized, but follow not God's commandments, that such fellows, I say, be worse than the Turks and heathen: for the Turks and heathen have made no promise unto Christ to

serve him. These fellows have made promise in baptism to keep Christ's rule, which thing they do not; and therefore they be worse than the Turks: for they break their promise made before God and the whole congregation. And therefore such Christians be most wicked, perjured persons; and not only be perjured, but they go about to make God a liar, so much as lieth in them. There be some again, which when they be in trouble they call upon God, but he cometh not by and by, minding to prove their patience; they, perceiving he cometh not at the first call, give over by and by, they will no more call upon him. Do they believe now, think ye? Do they sanctify God's holy name? God promiseth in his holy word, *Omnis qui petit*, "Every one that calleth or that desireth help of me shall have it." Item, *Invoca me in die tribulationis, et exaudiam te, et glorificabis me;* "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me." Likewise St Paul saith, *Fidelis est Deus, qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis;* "God is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above it that ye be able." Now, when we give over prayer being in trouble, do we sanctify the name of God? No, no; we slander and blaspheme his holy name: we make him a liar, as much as lieth in us. For he saith, *Eripiam te*, "I will deliver thee, I will help thee:" we will call no more; for we say, he will not help. So we make him and his word a liar. Therefore God saith to Moses and Aaron, *Quandoquidem non credidistis mihi, ut sanctificaretis me coram filiis Israel, non introducetis cœtum istum in terram quam dedi eis;* "Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the sight of the children of Irsael, therefore you shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them." Where it appeareth, what it is to hallow God's name; that is, to believe his words, to shew ourselves that he is true in his doings and sayings. He saith further, *A terrore ejus ne formidetis, neque animo frangamini, quin potius Dominum exercituum ipsum sanctificate;* "Fear them not, neither be afraid of them, but sanctify the Lord of hosts." Here you see what it is to sanctify his name; that is, to believe that all things be true that be spoken of him; that is, to believe that our enemies be not able to go further than it pleaseth God. And so did the apostles, when they suffered for God's sake: they believed that God would do with them according to his word and promise; and so they

sanctified God; that is, they declared with their acts and deeds, that God is a true and faithful God. This did the martyrs of God; this did the three young men which would not worship the idol set up by the king, and therefore were cast into the burning oven, to which pain they were willing to go. "We know," said they, "that God is able to help and defend us, when it pleaseth him." So must we likewise offer ourselves unto the cross, content to suffer whatsoever he shall lay upon us. We may call upon him, and desire his help; but we may not appoint unto him the manner and way, how he shall help, and by what means. Neither may we appoint him any time, but only sanctify his name; that is, to call upon him for deliverance, not doubting but when it is to his honour and our profit to be delivered, that he will help. But if he help not, but let us suffer death, happy are we; for then we be delivered from all trouble. And so these three young men sanctified the name of God; they believed that God was a helper: and so, according to their belief he helped them, marvellously shewing his power, and defending them from the power of the fire.

In such wise did Achior, that good man, when Holophernes, that sturdy captain, made great brags what he would do, and how he would handle the Jews. This Achior, knowing God, and believing him to be ruler over heaven and earth, stepped forward, and said to Holophernes: "If this people have done wickedness in the sight of their God, then let us go up against them; but if this people have not displeased their God, we shall not be able to withstand them; for God shall defend them." Here this Achior shewed himself to believe that which was spoken of God in scripture; namely, that God would be a deliverer and defender of those which believe in him. But for all that he suffereth: being before a great and mighty captain, he was now handled like a wild beast. But what then? Happy are those that suffer for God's sake. The prophet saith, *Commenda Domino viam tuam, et ipse faciet;* "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and he shall bring it to pass:" that is to say, When thou art in trouble, call upon the Lord, believe in him; and if it be good for thee, he will deliver thee. So to sanctify God's name is to believe in him.

Lady Judith, that good, godly, and holy woman, sanctified the name of the Lord. For she and her people being in great distress and misery, she put her hope in God. She

fasted and prayed devoutly, and afterward, being moved or monished by a secret admonition, was not afraid to put herself in great danger; insomuch that she took in hand, being a woman, to kill the great captain of whom all men were afraid, Holophernes. I say, she was not afraid of him. I trow, she rebuked the priest, which would appoint God a time; as who say, "He shall be no more my God, except he come by that time:" which was very wickedly done of them. For we ought to be at his pleasure: whensoever and whatsoever he will do with us, we ought to be content withal. If we were earnest and zealous as we should be, O how hot we should be in promoting God's honour and sanctifying his name! We would nor could not suffer that any body should go about to dishonest the holy name of God. But we be very cold, we care not for his honour. We ought to be patient in our own quarrels; when any body doth us wrong, we ought to bear and forbear it: but in God's behalf we ought to be hot and earnest to defend his honour, as much as lieth in us to do. But it is clean contrary with us: for in our own quarrel we be as hot as coals; but in God's cause, for his honour, we care not, we regard it as nothing, whereas it ought most above all to be regarded: for God he is just, righteous, faithful, and kind; and therefore we ought to take his part. But nothing maketh more for the sanctifying of God's holy name, than to be thankful for such gifts as we receive at his hands.

And this hallowing standeth in all things that may make for the furtherance of God's honour. To hear God's word, and highly to esteem the same, that is a hallowing of God's name. How hallow now they the name of God, which refuse to hear the word of God, or for lack of preachers cannot hear it? And how can they believe, when they hear it not? Therefore they that do somewhat for the furtherance of learning, for maintaining of schools and scholars, they sanctify God's holy name. As for those preachers which have been in my time, they go away. How shall now this office of preaching, the office of salvation, how shall it be maintained, except there be made some provision for the same? Here I could say much against those which let that office, which withdraw the goods wherewith schools should be maintained, and take it to themselves; but my audience is not thereafter. This office of preaching is the office of salvation; for St Paul saith, *Visum est Deo per stultitiam prædicationis salvos facere credentes:* "It hath pleased God to

save the believers by the foolishness of preaching." How can men then believe, but by and through the office of preaching? Preachers are Christ's vicars: *legatione funguntur pro Deo.* "They are Christ's ambassadors." St Paul saith, *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti;* "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation for every believer." It is the mighty instrument of God.

When we say, "Hallowed be thy name;" we desire God that he, through his goodness, will remove and put away all things that may let and stop the honour of his name. But I fear me there be many which would not that it should be so. We desire here that God will remove all infidelity. We require that all witchcrafts be removed; that art, magic, and sorcery, be pulled out, necromancy taken away; and so nothing left but his holy word, wherewith we may daily praise the name of God. For I fear me there be a great many in England which use such sorceries, to the dishonour of God and their own damnation. We require here further, that all heresy, all popery may be abolished and extinguished. Further we require here, that all wicked living may be amended and reformed. Next, we require that all magistrates may do their duties. Finally, we require that every man in his vocation may do the work whereunto God hath called him. There be many vocations. The magistrates' vocation is to see that the commonwealth be well ordered; to see that the schools be maintained; to see that universities be well furnished; to see that justice be executed; that the wicked be punished, and the good rewarded; finally, to keep every one in good order. This is their duty. Further, we pray that the priests, the spirituality, or the churchmen, as they call them, do their duties: to preach God's word, to live godly, and to give a good ensample by their conversation; else they do against the honour of God, and their own honesty. Likewise, we pray that servants may do their duties: for to be a servant is an honest estate, and much commended in scripture; and scripture speaketh much to the comfort of them. And truly, those that live in the fear of God, considering that they serve not only their carnal masters, but God himself, they be in a good case: but they may not be eye-servants. St Paul noteth this fault, and saith, that they shall not be murmurers, nor froward answerers. St Paul would have them to live so, that they may ornate and sanctify the name of God. For that servant that doth the thing where-

unto he is called, he doth adorn his estate. That servant is a good gospeller, that will not be an eye-servant. There be some servants, which do their duties as long as their master is in sight; but as soon as their master is gone, they play the lubbers. Unto such fellows I say, "Beware." For though your bodily master see you not, yet your great Master, God, seeth you, and will punish you. *Quod agis, toto pectore agito;* "What thou doest, do it from the bottom of thy heart," with a good will. Go not away with the devil's *Paternoster*, as some do. Do all things with a good mind. For I tell you, you be not forgotten in scripture; you are much commended in the same. St Paul speaketh very honourably of you, saying, *Domino Christo servitis;* "You serve the Lord Christ." It becometh not you to put a difference what business you be commanded to do. For whatsoever it be, do it with a good will, and it is God's service. Therefore you ought to do it, in respect that God would have you to do so: for I am no more assured in my preaching that I serve God, than the servant is in doing such business as he is commanded to do; scouring the candlesticks, or whatsoever it be. Therefore, for God's sake, consider the matter. Some of you think, if Christ were here, you would go with him and serve him. I tell you, when you follow your service, and do such things as your master and mistress shall command you, you serve him as well as if he were here bodily. He is not here bodily now, but his word is here. *Domino Christo servitis*, saith St Paul: "You serve the Lord Christ." Therefore I desire you in God's behalf to walk uprightly and godly. Consider what God saith unto you: *Maledictus qui facit opus Domini negligenter;* "Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently." This scripture pertaineth to you as well as to me. For when you do your business negligently, you be cursed before the face of God. Therefore consider the goodness of God, that he would have you as well saved as your masters. Surely, methinketh it is a great benefit of God, to be a servant. For those that keep houses must make account afore God for their family; they must watch and see that all things be well. But if a servant can discern what standeth with God's commandment, and what is against it, it is enough for him. But he must know that he ought not to obey his master or mistress when they would command him to do against God; in such a case he may refuse and

withstand them. For it is written, "We must more obey unto God, than man:" we should not do against God, to please our masters. Again, masters and mistresses are bound to consider their duties; to pay unto their servants their wages, and meat and drink convenient. For it is a great sin to defraud the labourer of his wages; for it is written, "The cry of the labourers shall come before the Lord." It is a great fault afore God to defraud them. But there be some servants which be so wicked, that they will complain without a cause, when they cannot have that that they would have, nor bear all the rule themselves. But I say, it is a great thing for a master to defraud his servant. And, again, the servant which hath his whole wages, and doth but half his work, or is a sluggard, that same fellow, I say, is a thief afore God. For like as the master ought to pay the whole wages, so likewise the servant ought to do his whole work.

Here I might have occasion to shew how man and wife ought to live together; how they ought to be faithful, loving, and friendly one to the other; how the man ought not to despise the wife, considering that she is partaker with him of everlasting life. Therefore the man ought *cohabitare*, "to dwell with her;" which is a great thing. Again, see how the woman ought to behave herself towards her husband; how faithful she ought to be. Now when they both yield their duties the one to the other, then they sanctify the name of God; but when they do contrary to their calling then they slander the holy name of God. Therefore let every man and woman walk in their vocations.

We must have a good and earnest mind and will to sanctify the name of God: for that person that prayeth, and desireth of God that his name may be hallowed, and yet hath no will nor pleasure to do it indeed, this is not the right sanctifying of the name of God. St Peter teacheth us how we shall sanctify God's name, saying, *Conversationem inter gentes habentes bonam;* "Have a good and holy conversation, live uprightly in your calling; so that your light may so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and so glorify God."

I will trouble you no longer. It is better a little well perceived and borne away, than a great deal heard and left behind. Consider wherefore our Saviour commandeth us to call God "Our Father;" then afterward weigh this, "which art in heaven." Then come to the petition, "Hallowed be

thy name;" weigh and consider this. For now is the time wherein the name of God should be hallowed: for it is a pitiful thing to see what rule and dominion the devil beareth, how shameless men be; how the name of God is brought in derision. Therefore let us say from the bottom of our heart, *sanctificetur*, "hallowed:" that is to say, "Lord God, through thy goodness remove all wickedness; give us grace to live uprightly!" And so consider every word; for it is better one word spoken with good affection, than an hundred without it. Yet I do not say this to let you from saying the whole *Paternoster;* but I say, one word well said is better than a great many else. Read throughout all the scripture, and ye shall find that all faithful men have made but short prayers: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Hezekiah. Our Saviour himself in the garden saith, *Pater, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste;* "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." This was but a short prayer. Again he saith, *Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt:* "Father, forgive them, because they know not what they do." The publican praying in the temple made but a short prayer, saying, *Propitius esto mihi peccatori;* "Lord, be merciful unto me a sinner." So the thief hanging upon the cross saith, *Domine, memento mei cum veneris in regnum tuum;* "Lord, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom." Here was not much babbling. But I speak not this to dissuade you from long prayer, when the spirit and the affections do serve; for our Saviour himself spent a whole night in prayer.

Sanctificetur, "Hallowed be thy name:" that is to say, "Lord, remove away thy dishonour; remove away sin; move them that be in authority to do their duties; move the man and wife to live rightly; move servants to do well." And so it should be a great grief unto us, when we should see any body dishonour the name of God, insomuch that we should cry out, "Our Father, hallowed be thy name." This one thing bear away with you above all others: consider that when we will come to God and talk with him, we must be penitent sinners, we must abhor sins, purpose to leave them, and to live uprightly; which grant us God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost! *Amen.*

SERMONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Third Sermon upon the Lord's Prayer

Adveniat regnum tuum.—MATT. vi. 10.
Thy kingdom come.

THIS is the second petition of the Lord's prayer. I trust you have not forgotten the two lessons before rehearsed unto you. First, the beginning of the Lord's prayer, what a treasure of doctrine is contained in every word: "Our," what it signifieth: "Father," what it meaneth: and then, this addition, "which art in heaven:" how many things is to be noted by every one of those words. And I trust also, you have remembered the contents of the first petition, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, "Hallowed be thy name." Here I told you wherein standeth the holiness of his name, and what it meaneth; namely, we require that his name may be sanctified in us, that is to say, we require that all our conversations may be to the honour of God, which followeth when we endeavour ourselves to do his pleasure; when we hear his word with great diligence and earnest reverence, and so walk in the works of our vocation, every man whereunto God hath appointed him. And because the word of God is the instrument and fountain of all good things, we pray to God for the continuance of his word; that he will send godly and well learned men amongst us, which may be able to declare us his will and pleasure; so that we may glorify him in the hour of our visitation, when God shall visit us, and reward every one according unto his desert. One thing we must well consider and not forget it, namely, that our Saviour teacheth us to pray and desire of God that his name may be hallowed. Where he painteth us in our own colour, and would have us to confess our own imperfections; that we be not able to do any thing according to God's will, except we receive it first at his hands. Therefore he teacheth us to pray, that God will make us able to do all things according to his will and pleasure.

Adveniat regnum tuum. This is our request, "Thy

kingdom come. Thou Father, we beseech thee, let thy kingdom come to us." Here we pray that the kingdom of God come not to one only, but to us all. So that when I say this prayer, I require God that he will let his kingdom come to you as well as to me. Again, when you pray, you pray as well for me as for your own selves. "Let thy kingdom come." You must understand that, to speak properly, these words are not to be understood of God's inferior kingdom, of his earthly kingdom, as though it did hang upon our petitions, so that he could not be Lord and ruler over the earth except we pray for him. No: we pray not for his inferior kingdom to come, for it is come already: he ruleth and governeth all things. He is called in scripture *Rex regum*, "The King above all kings," *Dominus dominantium*, "the Lord above all lords." Therefore he ruleth and governeth all things according to his will and pleasure, as scripture saith, *Voluntati ejus quis resistet*, "Who will withstand his will?" So our Saviour reporteth, saying, *Pater meus operatur usque modo*, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work also:" What worketh he? He worketh the works of governance. For at the first beginning he did create all things: but he left them not so: he assisteth them, he ruleth them, according to his will. Therefore our Saviour doth not teach us to pray for his worldly kingdom to come; for he ruleth already as Lord and King; yea, and all the kings and rulers rule by him, by his permission, as scripture witnesseth: *Per me reges regnant*, "Through me," that is, "by my permission, kings reign." I would wish of God that all kings and potentates in the world would consider this well, and so endeavour themselves to use their power to the honour and glory of God, and not to presume in their strength. For this is a good monition for them, when God saith, *Per me reges regnant*, "Through me kings do reign:" yea, they be so under God's rule, that they can think nothing nor do any thing without God's permission. For it is written, *Cor regis in manu Domini, et quo vult vertit illud;* "The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord, and he turneth the same whithersoever it pleaseth him." This is good to be considered; and specially subjects should mark this text well. When the rulers be hard, and oppress the people, think ever, *Cor regis in manu Domini*, "The king's heart is in the governance of God." Yea, when thou art led to prison, consider that the governor's heart is in the hand of the Lord.

Therefore yield obedience: make thy moan unto God, and he will help, and can help. Surely I think there be no place in scripture more pleasant than this, "The heart of the king is in the hand of God;" for it maketh us sure, that no man can hurt us without the permission of God, our heavenly Father. For all those great rulers, that have been from the beginning of the world till now, have been set up by the appointment of God; and he pulled them down when it pleased him. There have been principally four monarchies in the world: the first were the Babylonians, which had great and many nations underneath them: which was God's ordinance and pleasure, for he suffered them so to do. After those came the Persians, which were great rulers and mighty kings; as it appeareth by stories written of learned men at that time. Then came in the Greeks, and took the dominion from the Persians, and ruled themselves for awhile, till they were plucked down. At the last came the Romans, with their empire, which shall be the last: and therefore it is a token that the end of the world is not far off. But wherefore were those mighty potentates plucked down? Marry, for wickedness' sake. The Babylonians, Persians, and Grecians, and a good part of the Romans were cast down for wickedness' sake. What were their doings? They would not execute justice: the magistrates were wicked, lofty, and high-minded: the subjects, taking ensample of their magistrates, were wicked too, and so worthy to be punished together. Therefore the wisdom of God saith, *Vidi sub sole in loco judicii impietatem et in loco justitiæ iniquitatem:* "In the place where poor men ought to be heard, there have I seen impiety; I have seen oppression and extortion; this I have seen: yea, and in the place of justice, there I have seen bearing and bolstering." So for these causes' sake, these great emperors were destroyed: so shall we, if we follow their wicked ensamples. Esay, that hearty prophet, confirmeth the same, saying, *Exspectavi ut facerent judicium, et ecce iniquitas; exspectavi ut facerent justitiam et ecce clamor:* "I looked they should execute justice, defend the good, and punish the ill; but there was nothing but crying." This is a great matter; *clamor populi*, "the cry of the people." When subjects be oppressed, so that they cry unto God for deliverance, truly God will hear them; he will help and deliver them. But it is to be pitied that the devil beareth so much rule, and so much prevaileth both in magistrates and subjects, insomuch

that he beareth almost all the rule. Not that he ought to do so; for God he is the lawful ruler of the world; unto him we owe obedience: but the devil is an usurper; he cometh to his dominion by craft and subtilty, and so maketh himself the great ruler over the world. Now he, being the great ruler, would have all the other rulers to go after him, and follow his ensample, which commonly happeneth so. For you know there is a common saying, *Similis simili gaudet*, "Like to like." Therefore he useth all homely tricks to make all rulers to go after him: yea, he intendeth to inveigle even very kings, and to make them negligent in their business and office. Therefore such kings and potentates were pulled down, because they followed the instructions of the devil.

But our Saviour speaketh not of such worldly kingdoms, when he teacheth us to say, "Thy kingdom come." For these worldly kingdoms bring us not to perfect felicity; they be full of all manner of calamities and miseries, death, perditions, and destructions. Therefore the kingdom that he speaketh of is a spiritual kingdom; a kingdom where God only beareth the rule, and not the devil. This kingdom is spoken of every where in scripture, and was revealed long ago; and daily God hath his preachers, which bring us to knowledge of this kingdom. Now we pray here, that that kingdom of God may be increased, for it is God's fellowship; they are God's subjects that dwell in that kingdom; which kingdom doth consist in righteousness and justice; and it delivereth from all calamities, and miseries, from death and all peril. And in this petition we pray that God will send unto us his Spirit, which is the leader unto this kingdom; and all those which lack this Spirit shall never come to God. For St Paul saith, *Qui Spiritum Christi non habet, non est ejus;* "Whosoever hath not the Spirit of Christ, he pertaineth not unto him." Likewise our Saviour saith, *Regnum Dei intra vos est;* "The kingdom of God is within you:" signifying, that those which have the Spirit of God shall be sure of that kingdom: yea, it beginneth here in this world with them that be faithful.

The instrument wherewith we be called to this kingdom, is the office of preaching. God calleth us daily by preachers to come to this kingdom; to forsake the kingdom of the devil; to leave all wickedness. For customable sinners, those that be not content to leave sin, they pertain not to that kingdom; they are under the dominion of the devil; he ruleth

them: like as our Saviour saith to the Jews, *Vos ex patre diabolo estis;* "The devil is your father." Item, *Qui facit peccatum ex diabolo est;* "He that doth sin is of the devil." Therefore by this petition we pray, that we may be delivered from all sin and wickedness, from the devil and his power. We desire God, that we may be his subjects; which is a very godly and needful prayer.

Further, by this petition we be put in remembrance what we be, namely, captives of the devil, his prisoners, and bondmen; and not able to come at liberty through our own power. Therefore we desire God's help and aid, as Christ hath taught us to call him Father. He knew his affections; therefore he commandeth us to call him Father, and to desire his help to be delivered out of the kingdom of the devil. Happy are those which are in this kingdom, for they shall lack nothing! And this kingdom cometh to us by preaching, by hearing of God's word. Therefore those that find scholars to school, they are helpers and furtherers toward this kingdom; and truly it is needful that there be made some provision for them. For except schools and universities be maintained, we shall have no preachers: when we have no preachers, when we have none which shew unto us God's word, how shall we come to that blessed kingdom which we desire? What availeth it when you have gotten many hundred pounds for your children, and lack God's word? Therefore I say, this office must needs be maintained: for it is a necessary office, which furthereth to this kingdom; of which our Saviour speaketh in the gospel to the Jews, saying, *Instat regnum cœlorum;* "The kingdom of God is come near." Likewise he saith to one, *Sequere me, et annuncia verbum Dei;* "Follow me, and preach the kingdom of God." So ought all preachers to do: they ought to allure every man to come to this kingdom, that this kingdom may be replenished. For the more that be converted, the more is the kingdom of God. Again, those that be wicked livers, they help to multiply the kingdom of the devil. To this heavenly kingdom our Saviour exhorteth us, saying, *Quærite primum regnum Dei et justitiam ejus, et cetera omnia adjicientur vobis;* "Seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all other things shall come upon you unlooked for." *Jacta super Dominum curam tuam;* "Cast all thy care upon God," as David saith. Then our principal study shall be to hear God's word, and when we have heard it, we shall

believe it and follow it, every man in his vocation. Then servants shall yield their obedience to their masters, as God requireth of them. Then the parents shall bring up their children in the fear of God. Then the children shall be obedient to their parents. Then subjects shall be obedient to their king and prince, and all his officers under him. So go throughout all estates, every one shall live uprightly in his calling. Then God will bless us, so that we shall lack no necessaries in this world; and then, at the end, we shall come to that perfect felicity and joy, that God hath laid up and prepared for them that study here to live according to his will and commandment. But we must labour and travail; as long as we be in this world we must be occupied. For St Paul saith, *Si quis non vult operari, nec manducet;* "Whosoever will not labour, let him not eat." Likewise David saith, *Labores manuum tuarum comedes, et bene tibi erit;* "Thou shalt eat the labours of thy hand, and it shall go well with thee." For he that will labour, and is content to travail for his living, God will prosper him; he shall not lack. Let every man therefore labour in his calling; for so did our Saviour himself, which came into this world to teach us the way to heaven, and to suffer death for us. Now how diligent he hath been in his office, it appeareth every where. For the evangelist saith, *Loquebatur illis de regno Dei;* "He talketh with them of the kingdom of God." Mark here, he taught them of the kingdom of God, he taught them nothing of the kingdom of this world. For he saith, standing before Pilate, *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo;* "My kingdom is not of this world." He reigneth by faith, through his Holy Ghost, in all those which pertain unto him. He is not an earthly king, as the Jews hope to have their Messias. Therefore when I feel such motions within me, then is it time to call upon God; for such motions come of the devil: therefore I must run to God, saying, "Thy kingdom come, most loving Father; help thou; fight thou for me against my enemies; suffer me not to be taken prisoner; let not my enemies have the victory over me." So we must call upon God without intermission. For you may be sure we shall never be without battle and travail; and we are not able to withstand our adversary by our own power: therefore it is most needful for us to call and cry unto him for help. When we do so, then we shall have grace to withstand the devil; for he cannot, neither is he able to strive

with God, for all his craft. For the scripture saith, *Non est consilium contra Dominum;* "No wisdom, no craft can prevail against the Lord." He will help and deliver us when he seeth his time; for commonly the nature of God is to help when all man's help is past. When the devil thinketh himself cock-sure, then God cometh and subverteth his wicked intents; as it appeared in our Saviour himself: for when the devil had brought the Jews to such a madness that they went and crucified him, when this was done, the devil triumphed and made merry; he thought himself sure enough of him. But what was the end of it? His triumphing was turned to his own destruction. For Christ hanging upon the cross did by his death destroy the power of the devil. So we see how God suffereth the devil for awhile, and then when he seeth his time, he cometh with his gracious helping hand. But, as I told you before, the devil hath many inventions, many impediments and lets, wherewith he trappeth us. For we see there be a great many gospellers, which begun very well and godly, but now the most part of them become ambitious and covetous persons; all the world is full of such fellows. But what then? God will preserve his kingdom; he will wrestle with the devil's kingdom, and so shall prevail and pull it down to the bottom. Therefore all those which be in the kingdom of God must wrestle, strive, and fight with the devil: not as the carnal gospellers do, which commonly begin well at the first, but now having rest and tranquillity, and all things going with them, they leave the gospel, and set their minds upon this naughty world. Therefore it is good and needful for us to have afflictions and exercises; for, as St Augustine saith, *Sanguis Christianorum est veluti semen fructuum evangelicorum;* "The blood of Christians is, as it were, the seed of the fruit of the gospel." For when one is hanged here, and another yonder, then God goeth a sowing of his seed. For like as the corn that is cast into the ground riseth up again, and is multiplied; even so the blood of one of those which suffer for God's word's sake stirreth up a great many. And happy is he to whom it is given to suffer for God's holy word's sake! For it is the greatest promotion that a man can have in this world, to die for God's sake, or to be despised and contemned for his sake: for they shall be well rewarded for their pains and labours. *Merces vestra multa est in cœlis:* "Your reward," saith our Saviour, "shall be great in heaven."

Further, when we pray, *Adveniat regnum tuum*, "Thy kingdom come," we desire of God that there may come more and more to the knowledge of God's word. And secondarily, we desire of God to bring those which be come already to the perfect knowledge of his word, and so to keep them in it still to the very end: for not he that beginneth, but he that endureth shall be saved. This kingdom of God is double, *regnum gratiæ, et regnum gloriæ*, "The kingdom of grace, and the kingdom of glory, honour, joy, and felicity." As long as we be in this world, we be in the kingdom of grace; when we are gone, then we shall come to the kingdom of glory. For as long as we be here, God sheweth himself unto us by grace; he ascertaineth us through his Spirit of his favour, and so he reigneth within us by grace. But when we be once gone, then we shall see him face to face; which we cannot as long as we be here. For he exhibiteth himself unto us, not so plainly as he doth unto his angels, which be with him in the kingdom of glory. Therefore when we say, "Thy kingdom come," we desire of God that he will help us to this perfect kingdom, that he will deliver us out of this troublous world, and give us everlasting rest.

I fear there be a great number in England, which if they knew what they meant in speaking these words, "Thy kingdom come," they would never say them. For they are so given to the world, and so set their mind upon it, that they could be content that there should never be any end of it. Such worldlings, when they say these words, "Thy kingdom come," they pray against themselves: for they desire God to take them out of this world speedily, and yet they have all their delight in it. Therefore such worldlings when they say, "Thy kingdom come," either they mock God; or else they understand not the meaning of these words. But we ought not to trifle with God: we should not mock him: he will not be despised. *Quicquid petimus, ardenter petamus, tanquam cupientes habere;* "Let us pray heartily unto him, desirous to have the thing wherefore we pray." But the customable impenitent sinner cannot say from the bottom of his heart this prayer; for he would have no end of this worldly life; he would have his heaven here. Such fellows are not meet to say, "Thy kingdom come;" for when they do, they pray against themselves. Therefore none can say this petition, but such as be aweary of this world. Such faithful folk would have him to come speedily, and make an end of their

miseries. It is with the Christians like as it is in a realm where there is a confusion, and no good order: those which are good would fain have a parliament; for then they think it shall be better with them, they trust all things shall be well amended. Sometimes the councils be good, but the constitutions like not the wicked, and so they begin to cry out as fast as they did before. Sometimes the councils be naught, then the good people cry out; and so they be never at rest. But there is one parliament that will remedy all the matters: be they never so weighty or heavy, it will despatch them clean. And this parliament will be sufficient for all realms of the whole world: which is the last day. Where our Saviour himself will bear the rule, there shall be nothing done amiss, I warrant you; but every one as he hath deserved, so he shall have: the wicked shall have hell, the good shall possess heaven. Now this is the thing that we pray for when we say, "Thy kingdom come:" and truly the faithful penitent sinners do desire that parliament, even from the bottom of their hearts. For they know that therein reformations of all things shall be had: they know that it shall be well with them in that day; and therefore they say from the bottom of their hearts, "Thy kingdom come." They know that there shall be a great difference between that parliament that Christ shall keep, and the parliaments of this world. For in this world this is the common rule, *Quo scelerator eo fortunatior;* "The more wicked, the better luck." Which is a wonderful thing to consider how it cometh to pass, that for the most part wicked bodies have the best luck. They are in wealth and health; insomuch that a man may much marvel at it, as Esdras, David, and others do: specially considering that God curseth them in his laws, and threateneth them that they shall have none of his benefits: *Si non audieris vocem Domini, maledictus in agro;* "If thou wilt not hear the voice of the Lord thy God, thou shalt be cursed in the field, &c." These be the words of God, which he speaketh against the wicked; and it must needs be so, but yet we see by experience daily the contrary. Wherefore doth God suffer the wicked to subvert his order? The order is, that those which do well shall receive good things at God's hand; they shall be blessed, and all things shall go well with them. Now, how chanceth it that we see daily the wicked to be blessed of God, to have and possess his benefits, and the good to be cursed, which is a wonderful thing?

God the Almighty, which is most true, yea, the Truth itself, doth it not without a cause. One cause is, that it is his pleasure to shew his benefits as well unto the wicked as to the good. For he letteth them have their pastime here, as it is written, *Solem suum oriri sinit super justos et injustos*; "He letteth his sun shine as well over the wicked as over the good." And I tell you, this is for the exercise of those which serve God with godly living: they are promised, that it shall go well with them, and yet have they all the ill. This maketh them to think that there is another world, wherein they shall be rewarded; and so giveth them occasion to hawk and hunt for the other world: whereas otherwise they would forget God, if they should have all things according to their hearts' desire, as the wicked have; which in very deed do forget God, their mind being so occupied with other business, that they can have no leisure to inquire for God or his kingdom. Again, he suffereth them to turn his order, to the intent that they may be brought to repentance, when they see his great goodness shewed unto them; in that, notwithstanding all their wickedness, he suffereth them to enjoy the good things of the world. And so by his benefits he would give them occasion to leave sin and wickedness: as St Paul saith, *Dei bonitas te ad pœnitentiam adducit;* "The goodness of God allureth us to amendment of our life." But when they will not amend, then *Cumulant sibi ipsis iram in die iræ*, "They heap up to themselves the wrath of God in the day of wrath."

Now you have heard the causes, wherefore God suffereth the wicked to enjoy his gifts. But I would will and desire you most heartily, for God's sake, to consider that the judgment of God at the latter day shall be right, according unto justice: it will then appear who hath been good or bad. And this is the only comfort of all christian people, that they know that they shall be delivered from all their troubles and vexations. Let us therefore have a desire that this day may come quickly. Let us hasten God forward. Let us cry unto him day and night, *Adveniat regnum tuum;* "Most merciful Father, thy kingdom come." St Paul saith, *Non veniet Dominus nisi veniat defectio;* "The Lord will not come till the swerving from faith cometh:" which thing is already done and past. Antichrist is known throughout all the world. Wherefore the day is not far off. Let us beware, for it will one day fall upon our heads. St Peter saith, *Finis omnium*

appropinquat; "The end of all things draweth very near." If St Peter said so in his time, how much more shall we say so! For it is a long time since St Peter spake these words. The world was ordained to endure, as all learned men affirm and prove it with scripture, six thousand years. Now of that number there be passed five thousand (five hundred) and fifty-two; so that there is no more left but four hundred and forty-eight. And furthermore, those days shall be shortened: it shall not be full six thousand years. *Nam abbreviabuntur dies propter electos;* "The days shall be shortened for the elect's sake." Therefore all those excellent learned men, which without doubt God hath sent into this world in these latter days to give the world warning, all those men do gather out of scripture that the last day cannot be far off. And this is most certain and sure, that whensoever he cometh, he cometh not too timely; for all things which ought to come before are passed now: so that if he come this night or to-morrow, he cometh not too early. Therefore, good people, let us make ready towards his coming. And though he cometh not at this time, yet let us make ready; for we are not sure when we shall be called to make account before the Lord. All good and godly people since the world began endeavoured themselves to make ready towards this day. But, O Lord, how wretched and miserable, yea, and how careless we be! Therefore it will be like as he saith: *Cum dixerint, Pax et tranquillitas,* "When they say, all thing is well and quiet," *tunc repentinus superveniet illis interitus,* "then they shall be suddenly taken, and perish;" like as *dives epulo,* that rich glutton, did. He ate and drank, he builded a new barn, (for the old was too little for him,) then he said to himself, "Now my soul, now be merry and take thy pleasure; for thou hast riches enough for many years." But what said God? What said he? *Stulte, hac nocte,* "Thou fool, this night they will fetch thy soul from thee: whose shall those riches be then which thou hast heaped up?" And so shall all those be taken and trapped like this *epulo,* which will not make ready, which refuse the warnings of God; they shall be taken so suddenly to their everlasting wo. For scripture giveth warning unto every one, saying, *Sicut in diebus Noah, &c.* "Like as in the days of Noah, they will eat and drink, and marry, &c." To eat, and to drink, and marry, is godly and lawful; but to do it otherwise than God hath commanded, it is wicked and damnable. To eat without thanksgiving, or to eat other

men's flesh, or to play the glutton more than sufficeth nature, this is wicked. *Item*, to marry upon other respects than God hath appointed and expressed in his most holy laws, is wicked and damnable: else, *Honorabile conjugium inter omnes*, "Marriage is honourable amongst all men;" but to marry for wantonness' sake, that is wicked. *Viderunt filii Dei filias hominum;* "The sons of God saw the daughters of men." This did Noah rebuke in his time, but they laughed at it. He prepared the ark, and went into it: at the length the flood fell upon their heads. *Sicut in diebus Loth*, "As in the days of Lot:" what did they? *Ingressus es advena*, "Thou art come hither a stranger." Regarding nothing God's word, which was shewed unto them through that good man Lot, they were wicked, whoremongers, drunkards, covetous persons. But what followeth; what followeth, I say? Consider the end: "The fire from heaven fell upon them suddenly and consumed them all." *At nos non sumus in tenebris;* "We be not in darkness." We have the word of God, we know what is his will; therefore let us watch, for he will come like a thief in the night. Happy are we if he shall find us watching!

This is the effect of this petition, wherein we desire that God will send down faith from heaven; that he will continue in me my faith, and every man's, so that we may be ready to go with him when his kingdom shall come. Now as many as pertain to this kingdom of God, shall have one property amongst other things,—they shall have an earnest mind and stedfast purpose to leave sin, according to St Paul's saying, *Ne regnet igitur peccatum in vestro mortali corpore;* "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies." God's kingdom shall reign in us, and not the devil's. Therefore when the devil tempteth thee, withstand him; give not over; let him not get the victory. As for an ensample: when thou seest a fair woman, an ill desire riseth up in thy heart towards her: this lust is of the devil. Call therefore for help; let him not occupy thy heart. Then surely God will help, for he hath promised, *Nulla condemnatio iis qui sunt in Christo;* "There is no condemnation to such as are in Christ Jesu;" when we do not allow sin, nor agree unto it. Therefore dispose yourselves so to live according unto his will, which can and will preserve us from the devil, and bring us into his kingdom. Which grant us God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost! *Amen.*

SERMONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Fourth Sermon upon the Lord's Prayer.

Fiat voluntas tua.—MATTHEW vi. 10.
Thy will be done.

AFTER this form our Saviour, a perfect schoolmaster, taught christian people to pray, "Our Father, which art in heaven; thy will be done." And here he teacheth us two things, as he did afore in the other petitions. First, he teacheth us to understand what we be of ourselves; namely, nothing at all, not able to do any thing pleasant to God: and so he plucketh us down, cutteth off our combs, bringeth us low; which else would be proud, as though we could do somewhat that we cannot do indeed: like as those merit-mongers do, which esteem themselves after their merits, think themselves perfect; insomuch that their works shall not only help themselves, but also others: therefore they take in hand to sell them for money. These fellows know not themselves, and therefore they do contrary unto this petition. Where our Saviour teacheth us, that we can do nothing of ourselves; they, contrary to that petition, will do all things alone, and with their merits bring to pass all matters. But our Saviour, contrary to that, teacheth us two things in this petition: first, he pulleth down our stomachs, and teacheth us to know ourselves: secondarily, he sheweth us what we shall do; namely, call upon God our heavenly Father, that he will help us, that we may be able to do his will; for of our own selves we are not able to do any thing acceptable unto him. And this is a good doctrine, which admonisheth us to give all praise unto God, and not to ascribe it to our own selves: for so did St Paul when he said, *Omnia possum in eo qui comfortat me;* "I am able to do all things that pertain to God's honour and glory, through him that strengtheneth me." He said not, "through mine own self;" but, "through God which helpeth me." And here appeareth the right humilia-

tion and lowliness, which our Saviour teacheth us in this petition. For he would have us to know our own impossibility and unableness to do any thing; and then, again, he would have us to call for aid and help to God; therefore he teacheth us to say, *Adveniat regnum tuum*, "Thy kingdom come:" so that though we be not able through our own selves to do any thing, yet when we call upon him he will help. For Christ knew his Father's will and loving affections towards us: he knew that he would help us, for he was a perfect schoolmaster; else he would not have commanded us to pray, *Fiat voluntas tua*, "Thy will be done."

Here we must understand, that the will of God is to be considered after two sorts. First, as it is omnipotent, unsearchable, and that cannot be known unto us. Now we do not pray that his will so considered be done. For his will so considered is and ever shall be fulfilled, though we would say nay to it. For nothing, either in heaven or in earth, is able to withstand his will. Wherefore it were but folly for us to pray to have it fulfilled, otherwise than to shew thereby that we give our consent to his will, which is to us unsearchable. But there is another consideration of God's will; and in that consideration we and all faithful Christians desire that it may be done: and so considered, it is called a revealed, a manifested, and declared will; and it is opened unto us in the bible, in the new and old testament: there God hath revealed a certain will; therefore we pray that it may be done and fulfilled of us. This will was opened by Moses and the holy prophets, and afterward by our Saviour himself and his apostles; which he left behind him to that end, that they should instruct the world and teach them his will: which apostles have done according to their master's commandment; for they not only spake it, but also wrote it to that end that it should remain to the world's end. And truly we are much bound to God, that he hath set out this his will in our natural mother tongue, in English, I say, so that now you may not only hear it, but also read it yourselves; which thing is a great comfort to every christian heart. For now you can no more be deceived, as you have been in times past, when we did bear you in hand that popery was the word of God: which falsehood we could not have brought to pass, if the word of God, the bible, had been abroad in the common tongue: for then you might have perceived yourselves our falsehood and blindness. This I speak to that end, to move

you to thankfulness towards him which so lovingly provideth all things necessary to our salvation.

Now to the matter. Almighty God, I say, set out his will by Moses and his prophets; and this will is contained in certain laws, which laws God commandeth that we should keep ever before our eyes, and look upon them as in a glass; and so learn to order our lives according unto the same. And in case that a man swerve from the same, and so fall into the danger of damnation, God revealed further his will, how to remedy the matter, namely, by repentance and faith; so that whosoever from the bottom of his heart is sorry for his sins, and studieth to leave them and live uprightly, and then believeth in our Saviour, confessing that he came into this world to make amends for our sins, this man or woman shall not perish, but have forgiveness of sins, and so obtain everlasting life. And this will God revealeth specially in the new testament, where our Saviour saith, *Qui credit in me habet vitam æternam;* "Whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life:" where we learn that our Saviour is ordained of God to bring us to heaven, else we should have been all damned world without end. So that in this prayer, when we say, "Thy will be done," we desire of God that he will help and strengthen us, so that we may keep his holy laws and commandments. And then again we desire of him, that he will endue us with the gift of faith; so that we may believe that all those things which we do contrary to his laws, be pardoned and forgiven unto us through his Son, for his passion's sake. And further, we desire him that he will fortify and strengthen us, so that we may withstand the devil's will and our own, which fight against God's will; so that we may be able to bear all tribulations and afflictions willingly and patiently, for his sake. This is the simple meaning of this petition, when we say, "Thy will be done."

I will go a little further, and shew you somewhat more of it: yet I intend not to tarry long, for I am not very well at ease this morning; therefore I will make it short. I have said now many times, and I say it yet again, *Quod petimus, ardenter petamus tanquam cupientes habere;* "Whatsoever we desire of God, let us desire it from the bottom of our hearts." But I fear me, there be many which say this prayer, and yet cannot tell what they say; or at the least their hearts are contrary disposed unto it. Such people I exhort on God's behalf to consider their duties, to consider that God

will not be mocked withal, he will not be derided. We laugh God to scorn, when we say one thing with our mouth, and think another thing with our hearts. Take this for an ensample. Our rebels which rose about two years ago in Norfolk and Devonshire, they considered not this petition: they said it with their lips only, but not with their hearts. Almighty God hath revealed his will as concerning magistrates, how he will have them to be honoured and obeyed: they were utterly bent against it. He revealed this will in many places of the scripture; but specially by St Peter, where he saith, *Subditi estote omni humanæ creaturæ:* that is thus much to say in effect, "Be ye subject to all the common laws made by men of authority; by the king's majesty, and his most honourable council, or by a common parliament: be subject unto them, obey them," saith God. And here is but one exception, that is, against God. When laws are made against God and his word, then I ought more to obey God than man. Then I may refuse to obey with a good conscience: yet for all that I may not rise up against the magistrates, nor make any uproar; for if I do so, I sin damnably. I must be content to suffer whatsoever God shall lay upon me, yet I may not obey their wicked laws to do them. Only in such a case men may refuse to obey; else in all the other matters we ought to obey. What laws soever they make as concerning outward things we ought to obey, and in no wise to rebel, although they be never so hard, noisome and hurtful. Our duty is to obey, and commit all the matters unto God; not doubting but that God will punish them, when they do contrary to their office and calling. Therefore tarry till God correct them; we may not take upon us to reform them, for it is no part of our duty. If the rebels, I say, had considered this, think you they would have preferred their own will afore God's will? For, doing as they did, they prayed against themselves. But I think that ignorance was a great cause of it. Truly I think if this had been opened unto them, they would never have taken such an enterprise in hand.

And here we have occasion to consider, how much we be bounden unto God, that he openeth unto us his word so plainly, and teacheth us so truly how we should behave ourselves towards the magistrates and their laws: but for all that, I fear there be some of us which little regard their laws and statutes. Such despisers of magistrates, when they pray, they pray against themselves. There be laws made of diet,

how we shall feed our bodies, what meat we shall eat at all times; and this law is made in policy, as I suppose, for victuals' sake, that fish might be uttered as well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth so in policy, we ought to keep it. Therefore all except those that be dispensed withal, as sick, impotent persons, women with child, or old folks, or licensed persons, all the rest ought to live in an ordinary obedience to those laws, and not do against the same in any wise. There be laws made for apparel, how we shall cover our nature. Is there not many which go otherwise than God and the magistrates command them to go? There is made a law for gaming, how we shall recreate our bodies; for we must have some recreation because of the weakness of our nature. In that law we be inhibited carding, dicing, tabling and bowling, and such manner of games, which are expressed in the same act. You may read it, and you ought to read it, and to know the acts: for how can you keep them when you know them not? Every faithful subject will not disdain to read the acts, and the king's majesty's proceedings, so that he may know what is allowed or forbidden in the same acts. And I myself read the acts, for it is meet so for us to do. Now again, this is a great matter that God is so kind towards us, that he disdaineth not to reveal his will, what order we shall keep in our diet, in our refreshing and garments. Therefore it is most meet for us to live in subjection, and not to prefer our own will before God's will. For when I do stubbornly against those acts set out by our natural king, and his most honourable counsellors; then I prefer my will afore God's will, and so sin damnably. These things ought well to be noted, for it is not a trifling matter; there hangeth damnation or salvation upon it. Therefore, as I said before, it is good to know the laws, and I call him a good man, and her a good woman, that are content to be ruled by the laws, and so declare their subjection and obedience unto God and the magistrates.

There be some men that say, "When the king's majesty himself comandeth me to do so, then I will do it, not afore." This is a wicked saying, and damnable: for we may not so be excused. Scripture is plain in it, and sheweth us that we ought to obey his officers, having authority from the king, as well as unto the king himself. Therefore this excuse will not, nor cannot serve afore God. Yet let the magistrates take heed to their office and duties; for the magistrates may

not do all things according to their pleasures and minds. They have authority of God to do well, and not harm; to edify, and not to destroy; to punish the wicked and obstinate, and to comfort those which live well and godly; to defend the same from wrong and injuries of the wicked. So it appeareth that every one in his order, in his degree and calling, ought to do the will of God, and not our own will and pleasure. This is our duty, happy are we if we do it indeed! O that men in authority would consider whereunto God hath ordained them! St Paul saith the magistrate is *Ultor ad iram*, "He is God's ordinary minister, to punish malefactors and ill doers." God saith, *Mihi vindicta, ego retribuam:* "I will avenge myself," saith God; and so he doth by his magistrates: for that is his ordinary way, whereby he punishes malefactors. But magistrates must take heed they go no further than God alloweth them to do. If they do, they themselves shall be punished: as there be many ensamples in scripture, whereby appeareth, how grievously God hath punished wicked magistrates.

Finally, St Peter giveth a rule not only unto the magistrates, but also unto the subjects, saying, *Hæc est voluntas Dei, ut obturetis os adversariorum bene agendo*: "It is the will of God," saith Peter, "that you with your good, godly, and honest conversation shall stop the mouth of your adversaries." What called St Peter well-doing? Well-doing is to live according to God's laws and commandments. God's commandment is, that we shall obey magistrates: therefore those which disobey and transgress the laws of the magistrates, they do not according to God's will and pleasure; they do but mock God, they stop not the mouth of the adversaries, as St Peter would have them to do; but they give rather occasion unto the wicked to slander and blaspheme the holy word of God. St Peter would have us to stop their mouth with well-doings. Many men, when they have been reproved of preachers because of their wicked living, they have gone about to stop their mouth with slanderous words: this stopping is an ill stopping. St Peter would have us to stop with well-doing. Now, will magistrates not be spoken ill of and reproved of preachers? Let them do well. Likewise saith St Paul of the subjects, *Vis non timere potestatem? Benefac et habebis laudem:* "Wilt thou not fear the higher power? Do well, and thou shalt be commended." Now even as it is with the temporal sword, so is it with the spiritual. There

be some men which cannot away withal, if they be rebuked; they cannot bear when the preacher speaketh against their wickedness: unto them I say, *Vis non timere prædicatorem? Benefac.* "Will you not to be rebuked of the preacher? Then do well." Leave off your covetousness, your ambition, your irefulness, vengeance, and malice, your lechery and filthiness, your blood-shedding, and such like sins; leave them, amend your life, or else the preacher, according to his office, will rebuke and reprove you: be you never so great lords or ladies, he will rub you on the gall. For a good and godly preacher can do no less, seeing God dishonoured, perceiving him to be blasphemed, his will to be neglected, and not executed of them that ought with all their study and endeavour to apply themselves that his will might be done. For he is well worthy: he is the Lord; he created heaven and earth, and is therefore the right natural Lord over it. But for all that, the devil is lord more than he is: not by right or inheritance, but by conquest, by usurpation; he is an usurper. God, as I said before, is the natural and lawful Lord over the earth, because he made it: yet it pleased his divine majesty to make mankind, as ye would say, lieutenant over it; so that mankind should bear the rule over the whole earth. Therefore God said unto him, *Dominamini*, "Be ruler over it:" Item, *Replete terram, et subjicite illam;* also, "Replenish the earth, and subdue it." Here Adam and his wife, and so all his posterity, were by God made rulers over the earth, as God's high deputies, or his lieutenants. So, as concerning God's ordinance, mankind was the lawful inheritor of this kingdom. But now cometh in the devil with his crafty conveyances, and with his false subtilties. He inveigled first the woman, and afterward the man, persuading them to transgress God's holy commandments; with which so doing they lost the favour of God and their dignities: and so the devil, through his false lies, substituted himself as an usurper or conqueror; and so he is a possessor, *non per fas, sed nefas*, not lawfully, but wrongfully. Though he did say to our Saviour, shewing him all the kingdoms of the world, *Cuicunque volo do illa*, "I may give them to whomsoever I will," he lieth falsely. God will destroy him at the length, for all his subtilties and lies: they shall not save him. Yet for all that he is a great ruler. For this is most certain and true, a great many more do the will of the devil than of God. Whatsoever they babble with their mouths,

look upon their works, and you shall find it so. For all proud persons, all ambitious persons, which be ever climbing up, and yet never be well, all such do not the will of God, and therefore pertain not to his kingdom. All ireful, rebellious persons, all quarrellers and wranglers, all blood-shedders, do the will of the devil, and not God's will. God saith, *Mihi vindicta, ego retribuam*, "I will avenge myself;" which he doth through the magistrate; and when the magistrate is slack, he doth it himself. Now those ireful, malicious persons, that hate their neighbours, they do not the will of God, but of the devil. Also these subtil, deceitful persons, which have no conscience to defraud and beguile their neighbours; that care not for breaking their promises, nor are not ashamed to utter false ware, they pertain all to the devil. Item, these that will not make restitution of goods ill gotten, they serve the devil. Scripture saith, *Qui peccat ex diabolo est;* "Whosoever sinneth is of the devil:" which is a very hard word to be spoken of the Holy Ghost, and a fearful word, able to withdraw us from sin, if we had any fear of God in our hearts. Amongst these may be numbered all slothful persons, which will not travail for their livings; they do the will of the devil. God biddeth us to get our living with labour; they will not labour, but go rather about a begging, and spoil the very poor and needy. Therefore such valiant beggars are thieves before God. Some of these valiant lubbers, when they came to my house, I communed with them, burthening them with the transgression of God's laws. "Is this not a great labour," say they, "to run from one town to another to get our meat? I think we labour as hard as other men do." In such wise they go about to excuse their unlawful beggary and thievery. But such idle lubbers are much deceived; for they consider not that such labour is not allowed of God. We must labour so as may stand with godliness, according to his appointment; else thieves which rob in the night-time, do they not labour? Yea, sometimes they labour with great care, peril, and danger of their lives. Is it therefore godly, because it is a labour? No, no: we must labour as God hath appointed us, every man in his estate. Further, these drunkards, which abuse the gifts of God; also these lecherers and whoremongers, that live in adultery; these violators of holy matrimony, which live not according unto God's law; item, these swearers, forswearers, liars, all those do not the

will of God. Therefore it is to be lamented of every christian heart, when they see how many servants the devil hath, and God so few. But all those which serve the devil are rebels against God. God was their Lord; they swerve from him through wicked living, and so become servants of the devil. Therefore those christian people that have a desire to live after God's will and commandments, they live amongst the wicked even as it were amongst the rebels. They that dwelled in Norfolk or Devonshire at the time of rebellion, they which were faithful to their king and prince, how think you they were entreated? Full miserably, God knoweth: either they were constrained to help their wicked purposes, or else they must suffer all calamities which could be devised. Even so shall all those be entreated, which intend to live well, according to God's commandments. For the rebels, that is, the wicked which have forsaken their Lord God, and taken the devil to be ruler over them, they shall compel them to follow, or else to suffer all calamities and miseries. And so shall be verified the saying of our Saviour Christ, *Non veni ut mittam pacem sed gladium:* "I am not come, saith he, to send peace, but the sword." Which is indeed a strange saying, but it hath his understanding: God is a God of peace and concord, he loveth unity and concord; but when he cannot have peace by the reason of the devil, then he will have the sword: that is to say, God loveth unity, he would have us all agree together, but because of the wicked we cannot: therefore he will rather have us to choose the sword, that is, to strive and withstand their wickedness, than to agree unto them. And therefore this doctrine is called a seditious doctrine: but who are those rebels? Even they themselves which call this doctrine seditious; they themselves, I say, are traitors against God. Wherefore our Saviour, seeing he can have no peace with the wicked, he will have us rather to withstand their wickedness, and so bring them to reformation: and this is the cause wherefore he will have his flock segregated from the wicked.

Therefore let us pray unto God our heavenly Father, *Fiat voluntas tua;* "Thy will be done." This is the prayer of all christian people, which have a will to do God's will: but those impenitent sinners, which are not yet weary of their sins, do never pray; for though they say the words, yet it is to no purpose. They say them without understanding: therefore it is but lip-labour, it is no prayer, it

is but the devil's service. For a man may serve the devil with saying the *Pater-noster*, when he saith it with a defiled mind. Let us, therefore, order ourselves so that we may say it worthily, as it ought to be. Let us lay away all wickedness and ill living, so that we may say from the bottom of our heart, "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy will be done." And so did Susanna, that godly woman; so did lady Judith; so did queen Esther; so did all good saints of God: and though this prayer was not made at that time, by the reason they were a great while afore Christ's coming; yet they had this prayer in effect. For they believed in almighty God; they believed in Abraham's Seed, which was promised: which faith stood them in as good stead, and they were as well saved through that same belief, as we now through our belief. For it is no difference between their belief and ours, but this: they believed in Christ which was to come, and we believe in Christ, which is come already. Now their belief served them as well as ours doth us. For at that time God required no further at their hands than was opened unto them. We have in our time a further and more perfect knowledge of Christ than they had. Now Susanna, when the judges, the same wicked men, came unto her, and moved her with fearful threatenings to do their wills, that is, to sin against God in doing that filthy act of lechery, (for the same wicked judges bare a wicked damnable love towards her,) think you not she resorted unto God? Yes, yes, without doubt: she said these words in effect, *Pater noster, fiat voluntas tua;* "Our Father, thy will be done," and not the will of the wicked men. Therefore she putting her hope and trust in God, having a respect that his will might be done, and not the devil's will, God, which is ever true, did not fail her; for you know how she was delivered through young Daniel. This is written to our instruction: for he is now the self-same God that he was at that time. He is as mighty as he was; he is as ready as he was. She was in anguish and great distress, she sought to hallow his holy name; therefore he did help her, he suffered her not to perish. So certainly he will do unto us too. Therefore when we be in trouble, let us hallow his name, and then we shall find his help like as Susan did. In such wise did Judith, when she was provoked of Holofernes to do wickedly. She sought rather to sanctify God's name, to do his will, than the will of the

devil; therefore God gave her such a triumphant victory. So did queen Hester when Hammon, that wicked fellow, had power over her: she committed all the matter unto God with fasting and prayer. But Saint Peter, what did he? Marry, he forgat his *Pater-noster;* for when there came but a foolish wench, asking him, "Art not thou a Galilean? Art not thou one of this new learning? Art not thou a gospeller?" what did Peter? He was gone quite: he denied it: he forgat his *Pater-noster.* For if he had had grace to consider that he ought rather to suffer death, than forsake his master Christ, then he would have said, *Pater noster, fiat voluntas tua,* "Our Father, thy will be done. I am ready to suffer for thy sake whatsoever thou shalt lay upon me." But he did not so, he forgot himself. What did our Saviour? He turned back and looked upon him. Happy was Peter that our Saviour looked upon him again, for it was a gracious token!

Judas, that false man, that traitor, forgat this same petition, and remained so in his error still to the end. Surely he was a sorrowful and a heavy man. Insomuch that he made restitution, he was much better than a great many of us be, which, when they have injured and wronged poor men, will make no restitution. I tell you truth, Judas was much better than such fellows be. *Pœnitentia ductus,* "Led to repentance," saith the text; but he lacked faith. And so between Peter and him, which were both two sorrowful men, this was the difference,—Peter had faith, Judas lacked it: yet he was exceeding sorrowful for his wickedness, insomuch that he went and hanged himself; therefore he forgat this petition. So likewise all voluntary sinners, all unrepentant sinners, none of them all saith this petition as they ought to do: they say not worthily nor profitably, for they have no will to do his will; their will is to do their own will and pleasure.

But above all things, these quest-mongers[1] had need to take heed; for there all things goeth by oath. They had need to say, "Our Father, thy will be done;" for they shall be moved to do this and that, which is against God. They must judge by their oath, according to conscience, "Guilty," or "Not guilty." When he is guilty, in what case are those which say, "Not guilty?" Scripture doth shew what a thing it is, when a man is a malefactor, and the quest-mongers justify him, and pronounce him not guilty; saying, *Et qui justificat impium, et qui condemnat justum, ambo abomina-*

[1] Jurors.

biles coram Domino: "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just man, they are both abominable before the Lord." Who is abominable? He that doth not the will of God: the will of God is, that the wicked should be punished. I myself did once know where there was a man slain of another man in anger: it was done openly, the man-killer was taken and put in prison. Suit was made to the quest-mongers: for it was a rich man that had done the act. At the length, every man had a crown for his good-will: and so this open man-killer was pronounced not guilty. Lo, they sold their souls unto the devil for five shillings, for which souls Christ suffered death: and I dare pronounce, except they amend and be sorry for their faults, they shall be damned in hell world without end. They had clean forgotten this petition, "Thy will be done:" for they did the will of the devil. It had been a good deed to cut off their crowns by their necks, to the ensample of all others. Therefore, I say, these quest-mongers had need to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy will be done." For truly it is marvel that this realm sinketh not down to hell headlong. What perjuries, swearing and cursing is everywhere, in every corner! Therefore, I say, we had need to pray earnestly, that God's will may be done. And we should be content to lose our lives for righteousness' sake; for he that loseth his life, for because he will not agree to the dishonour of God, he seeketh that God's will may be done. Happy is that man, for he findeth his life, he loseth it not: for Christ will be his keeper.

Joab, that great and valiant captain, he knew well enough when David sent unto him good Urias with letters; he knew, I say, that the king's will was against God's will: yet he looked through his fingers; he winked at it; he would rather do the wicked will of the king than the will of God. Of such fellows there be a great number, which care not for the honour and will of God. These chaplains about the king, and great men, had need to say, *Fiat voluntas tua*, "Our Father, thy will be done." But they are very slow and slack; they wink commonly at all matters, be they never so bad. They be *capellani ad manus*, chaplains at hand. They will not *arguere mundum de peccato*, "They dare not rebuke the world of sin;" they dare not do as the prophet commandeth unto them to do, when he saith, *Audiant montes judicia Domini*, "Let the hills hear the judgments of the Lord;" though they smoke, as he saith, *tange montes, et*

fumigabunt, "Touch the hills, and they will smoke." Yea, and though they smoke, yet strike them; spare them not, tell them their faults. But great men cannot suffer that, to be so rebuked; their chaplains must be taught discretion, if they will go so to work. They say commonly, magistrates should be brought out of estimation, if they should be handled so. Sirs, I will tell you what you shall do to keep your estimation and credit. Do well; handle uprightly and indifferently all matters; defend the people from oppressions; do your office as God has appointed you to do: when you do so, I warrant you, you shall keep your estimation and credit. And I warrant you again, the preacher will not strike nor cut you with his sword; but rather praise you, and commend your well-doings. Else, when you do naught, and wickedly oppress the poor, and give false judgments; when you do so, that is no godly preacher that will hold his peace, and not strike you with his sword that you smoke again. But it is commonly as the scripture saith, *Laudatur impius in desideriis animæ suæ;* "The wicked is praised in the desires of his wickedness." Chaplains will not do their duties; they will not draw their swords, but rather flatter; they will use discretion. But what shall follow? Marry, they shall have God's curse upon their heads for their labour: this shall be all their gains that they shall get by their flatterings. Another scripture saith, *Qui potestatem exercent, hi beneficia vocantur;* "The great and mighty men be called benefactors, well-doers:" but of whom be they called so? Marry, of flatterers, of those which seek not to do the will of God, but the pleasures of men.

St John Baptist, that hardy knight and excellent preacher of God, he said this petition right with a good faith; "Our Father, thy will be done:" therefore he went to the king, saying, *Non licet tibi;* "Sir, it is not lawful for thee so to do." See what boldness he had! How hot a stomach in God's quarrel, to defend God's honour and glory! But our chaplains, what do they now-a-days? Marry, they wink at it, they will not displease: for they seek livings, they seek benefices; therefore they be not worthy to be God's officers. Esay, that faithful minister of God, he is a good plain fellow; he telleth them the matter in plain, saying, *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam, principes tui infideles, socii furum:* "Thy silver is turned to dross, thy princes are unfaithful, and fellows of thieves." He is no flatterer, he telleth them the

truth. "Thy princes," said he, "are bribe-takers, subverters of justice." This Isaiah did, for he had respect to God's word: he perceived things amiss; he knew that it was his part to admonish, to cut them with his sword. Would God our preachers would be so fervent to promote the honour and glory of God, to admonish the great and the small to do the will of the Lord! I pray God they may be as fervent as our Saviour was, when he said to his disciples, *Meus cibus est, ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei qui est in cœlo;* "My meat is to do the will of my Father which is in heaven:" that is to say, "You are no more desirous to eat your meat when you be a-hungry, than I am to do my Father's will which is in heaven." By what occasion our Saviour saith these words, you shall perceive, when you consider the circumstances. I pray you read the chapter; it is the fourth of John. The story is this: he sendeth his disciples to a town to buy meat, (where it appeareth that our Saviour had money;) after their departure he setteth him down, which was a token he was a-weary, and I warrant you he had never a cushion to lay under him. Now as he was sitting so, there cometh a woman out of the town to fetch water; he desired her to give him drink. She made answer, "Will you drink with me which am a Samaritan?" So they went forward in their talk. At the length he bade her go call her husband. She made answer, "I have no husband." "Thou sayest well," said our Saviour; "for thou hast had five, and this that thou hast now is not thy husband." And so he revealed himself unto her. Some men, peradventure, will say, "What meaneth this, that our Saviour talketh alone with this woman?" Answer: his humility and gentleness is shewed therein: for he was content to talk with her, being alone, and to teach her the way to heaven. Again, some men may learn here, not to be so hasty in their judgments, that when they see two persons talk together, to suspect them; for in so doing they might suspect our Saviour himself. It is not good, it is against the will of God to judge rashly. I know what I mean; I know what unhappy tales be abroad; but I can do no more but to give you warning. Now the woman went her way into the city, making much ado, how she had found the Messiah, the Saviour of the world; insomuch that a great many of the Samaritans came out unto him. Now as the woman was gone, the disciples desired him to eat; he made them answer, *Ego alium cibum*

habeo, "I have other meat:" then they thought somebody had brought him some meat; at the length he breaketh out and saith, *Hic est cibus meus ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei qui misit me;* "I am as desirous to do my Father's will, as you be of meat and drink." Let us now, for God's sake, be so desirous to do the will of God, as we be to eat and drink. Let us endeavour ourselves to keep his laws and commandments: then whatsoever we shall desire of him, he will give it unto us, we shall have it.

We read oftentimes in scripture, that our Saviour was preaching according unto his vocation: I would every man would go so diligently about his business. The priests to go to their books, not to spend their times so shamefully in hawking, hunting, and keeping of ale-houses. If they would go to their books, in so doing they should do the will of God: but the most part of them do their own will, they take their pleasure: but God will find them out at length; he will mete with them when he seeth his time. On a time when our Saviour was preaching, his mother came unto him, very desirous to speak with him, insomuch that she made means to speak with him, interrupting his sermon, which was not good manners. Therefore, after St Augustine and St Chrysostom's mind, she was pricked a little with vain-glory; she would have been known to be his mother, else she would not have been so hasty to speak with him. And here you may perceive that we gave her too much, thinking her to be without any sparkle of sin: which was too much: for no man born into this world is without sin, save Christ only. The school doctors say she was arrogant. One came and told our Saviour, as he was teaching: "Sir, thy mother is here, and would speak with thee." He made answer, like as he did when he was but twelve years old, *Oportet me esse*, "I must be:" so he saith now, stretching out his hands, "Who is my mother?" *Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei qui est in cœlis*, "He that doth the will of my Father that is in heaven." Luke saith, *Qui audit verbum Dei et facit istud*, "He that heareth the word of God, and doth it." Mark this well; he saith, "and doth it." Let us do; let us not only be hearers but doers; then we shall be, according to his promise, his brethren and sisters. We must hear his word, and do it: for truly, if Mary his mother had not heard his word and believed it, she should never have been saved. For she was not saved because she was his natural mother, but because she believed in him;

because she was his spiritual mother. Remember therefore, that all that do his will are his kinsfolk. But remember that in another place he saith, *Non omnes qui dicunt mihi, Domine, Domine, introibunt;* "Not all that say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." Here you see that the matter standeth not in saying, but in doing: do his will, and then resort unto him, and thou shall be welcome. We read in Luke, where our Saviour said, *Servus qui noscit voluntatem domini, et non facit, vapulabit multis;* "That servant that knoweth the will of his master, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." He that knoweth not shall be beaten, but not so much. We must first know, and then do. It is a good thing to know; but it is a heinous thing to know, and not to do: it is a great sin to slander God's word with wicked living, as it is commonly seen amongst men. But this fault, if it be not amended, shall have grievous punishment.

Now, some men will say, "Seeing it is so, that those which know God's word, and do not the same, shall be beaten with many stripes; then I will keep me from it, and so when I am damned I shall have the easier punishment." No, no, my friend: *Ignorantia non excusat, præsertim voluntaria et affectata;* "Wilful ignorance excuseth not." To say, "I will not hear it, for I intend to do as it shall please me;" this is not ignorance, brother, but rather contumacy, or despising of God's word. These which would fain know, but cannot, for that they have no teacher, they shall be excused somewhat, for they shall have easier pain than the others have; as he saith, *Væ tibi, Chorazin, quia si in Sodoma,* "Wo unto thee, Chorazin, because if in Sodom," &c.; meaning that the Sodomites shall have easier judgment than the other: but as for those which refuse to hear when they might hear, they are in an ill case, and shall be punished with unspeakable pains. And I tell you, the very ignorant man is not all excused; for so saith God by his prophets, *Si non annunciaveris ut convertatur a via sua mala, impius in iniquitate sua morietur;* "The wicked," saith he, "shall die, though he hath had never warning before." So we see that ignorance excuseth not: but the ignorant are the less punished because of their ignorance; as there be degrees in hell, one shall be punished more grievously than the other, according to their deserts. There be some men in England which say, "No," say they, "I will hear none of them all, till they agree amongst them-

selves." Such fellows truly shall never come to the gospel: for there will be contentions as long as the devil is alive. He cannot suffer God's word to be spread abroad; therefore he doth, and will do till the world's end, what he can to let the word of God. Then it is like that those fellows shall never come to hear God's word, and therefore worthily be damned as despisers of God's most holy word.

Further, this petition hath an addition, *Quemadmodum in cælo;* "As it is in heaven." The writers make two manner of heavens; a spiritual heaven, and a temporal heaven. The spiritual heaven is where God's will is fully done; where the angels be, which do the will and pleasure of God without dilation. Now, when we say, "As it is in heaven," we pray God that we may do his will as perfectly as the angels do. Ensamples in scripture we have many, which teach us the diligent service which the angels do unto the Lord. When king David fell in a presumption, so that he commanded his captain Joab to number his people, (which thing was against the Lord, and Joab did naughtily in obeying the king in such things, but he went and numbered eight hundred thousand, and five hundred thousand men able to fight, beside women and children,) for this act God was angry with David, and sent his prophet, which told him that God would plague him; and bade him to choose whether he would have seven years' hunger, or that his enemies should prevail against him three months long, or to have three days' pestilence. He made answer, saying, "It is better to fall into the hands of God, than of men:" and so chose pestilence. After that, within three days died threescore and ten thousand. This story is a great declaration how angry God is with sin. Now David, that good king, seeing the plague of God over the people, said unto God, "Lord, it is not they that have sinned, it is I myself: punish me, and let them alone." This was a good mind in David; there be but few kings now that would do so. Now at the length God was moved with pity, and said unto the angel, *Sufficit, contine manum;* "It is enough, leave off." By and by the plague ceased. Where you see how ready the angels of God be to do the Lord's commandment. After that David was minded to be thankful unto God, and offer a great sacrifice unto him, and so remove the wrath of God: and therefore he made suit to one of his subjects for certain grounds to build an altar upon. The same man was willing to give it unto the king freely; but David

would not take it at his hands. Where kings may learn, that it is not lawful for them to take away other men's lands to their own use. This good king, David, would not take it when it was offered unto him. He did not as Achab, the wicked man, which did Naboth wrong in taking away his vineyard against his will. Another ensample, wherein appeareth how diligently the angels do God's commandments. Senacherib, king of the Assyrians, having a captain called Rabsacus; which captain, after he had besieged Jerusalem, spake blasphemous words against God the Almighty, saying to the Jews, "Think you that your God is able to help you, or to defend you from my hand?" Now Ezechias, that good king, hearing such blasphemous words to be spoken against God, fell to prayer; desired God for aid; sent for the prophet Esay, and asked him counsel. The end was, God sent his angels, which killed an hundred eighty and five thousand of the Assyrians in one night: the king himself scant escaped, and with great danger and fear gat him home. Here you see what a God our God is, whose will we ought to do. Therefore let us endeavour ourselves to do his will and pleasure; and when we are not able to do it, as we be not indeed, let us call unto him for help and aid.

The other heaven is called a corporal heaven, where the sun and the moon and the stars are; which heaven doth God's commandment too. As it appeareth in the books of Joshua, and the Kings, how the sun stood at the commandment of God: also, how the shadow went backward; like as Job saith, *Præcepisti soli, et non oritur*, "Thou gavest commandment to the sun, and it arose not." Therefore at the commandment of God they kept their ordinary course, as God hath commanded them in the first beginning. Also the rain and the snow come at his commandment. Finally, nothing rebelleth in his estate wherein it was set at the first, but man. The man will not be ruled by him, all other things be obedient: rain cometh when God will have it, and snow at his time. We read in Achab's time, that Elias the prophet stopt the rain for three years and six months, for to punish the people; whereof followed a great dearth. Afterward, at the request of the same Elias, God sent rain, which tempered the ground to bring fruits. I think there be some Elias abroad at this time, which stoppeth the rain, we have not had rain a good while. Therefore let us pray to God that we may do his will, and then we shall have all things necessary

to soul and body. For what was this Elias? *Obnoxius affectibus*, "A sinful man, born and conceived in sin:" yet God, seeing his confidence, granted his requests. For he was a man that feared the Lord, and trusted in him; therefore God loved him, and heard his prayer. Therefore, I say, let us do as he did; then God will hear our prayers. But we are fleshly, we are carnal, we can do nothing perfectly, as we ought to do: wherefore we have need to say with St Augustine, *Domine, fac quæ præcipis, et præcipe quod vis;* "Lord, do thou with me what thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt." For we of our own strength and power are not able to do his commandments; but that lack our Saviour will supply with his fulfilling, and with his perfectness he will take away our imperfectness.

Now since we have spoken much of prayer, I will desire you let us pray together, and so make an end: but you must pray with a penitent heart; for God will not hear the prayer that proceedeth from an impenitent heart; it is abominable in his sight. I desire you to say after me, "Our Father," &c. *Amen.*

SERMONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Fifth Sermon upon the Lord's Prayer.

Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.—MATT. vi. 11.
Give us this day our daily bread.

THIS is a very good prayer, if a body should say no more at one time, but that; for as we see our need, so we shall pray. When we see God's name to be dishonoured, blasphemed and ill spoken of, then a man, a faithful man, should say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name." When we see the devil reign, and all the world follow his kingdom, then we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy kingdom come." When we see that the world followeth her own desires and lusts, and not God's will and his commandments, and it grieveth us to see this, we be sorry for it; we shall make our moan unto God for it, saying, "Our Father, which art in heaven, *Fiat voluntas tua*, Thy will be done." When we lack necessaries for the maintenance of this life, every thing is dear, then we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, give us this day our daily bread." Therefore as we see cause, so we should pray. And it is better to say one of these short prayers with a good faith, than the whole psalter without faith.

By this now that I have said, you may perceive that the common opinion and estimation which the people have had of this prayer (the Lord's prayer, I say) is far from that that it is indeed. For it was esteemed for nothing: for when we be disposed to despise a man, and call him an ignorant fool, we say, "He cannot say his *Pater-noster;*" and so we made it a light matter, as though every man knew it. But I tell you, it is a great matter; it containeth weighty things, if it be weighed to the very bottom, as a learned man could do. But as for me, that that I have learned out of the holy scripture and learned men's books, which expound the same, I will shew unto you: but I intend to be short. I have

been very long before in the other petitions, which something expound those that follow: therefore I will not tarry so long in them as I have done in the other.

"Give us this day our daily bread." Every word is to be considered, for they have their importance. This word "bread" signifieth all manner of sustenance for the preservation of this life; all things whereby man should live are contained in this word "bread." You must remember what I said by that petition, "Hallowed be thy name." There we pray unto God that he will give us grace to live so that we may, with all our conversations and doings, hallow and sanctify him, according as his word telleth us. Now forasmuch as the preaching of God's word is most necessary to bring us into this hallowing, we pray in the same petition for the office of preaching. For the sanctifying of the name of God cannot be, except the office of preaching be maintained, and his word be preached and known: therefore in the same petition, when I say, *Sanctificetur*, "Hallowed be thy name," I pray that his word may be spread abroad and known, through which cometh sanctifying. So likewise in this petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," we pray for all those things which be necessary and requisite to the sustenance of our souls and bodies. Now the first and principal thing that we have need of in this life is the magistrates: without a magistrate we should never live well and quietly. Then it is necessary and most needful to pray unto God for them, that the people may have rest, and apply their business, every man in his calling; the husbandman in tilling and ploughing, the artificer in his business. For you must ever consider, that where war is, there be all discommodities; no man can do his duty according unto his calling, as appeareth now in Germany, the Emperor and the French king being at controversy. I warrant you, there is little rest or quietness. Therefore in this petition we pray unto God for our magistrates, that they may rule and govern this realm well and godly; and keep us from invasions of alienates and strangers; and to execute justice, and punish malefactors: and this is so requisite, that we cannot live without it. Therefore when we say, "Give us this day our daily bread;" we pray for the king, his counsellors, and all his officers. But not every man that saith these words understandeth so much; for it is obscurely included, so that none perceive it but those which earnestly and diligently consider the same. But

St Paul he expresseth it with more words plainly, saying, "I exhort you to make supplications and prayers for all men, but specially *pro regibus et qui in sublimitate constituti sunt*, for the kings, and for those which be aloft." Whereto? *Ut placidam et quietam vitam agamus*, "That we may live godly and quietly, in all honesty and godliness." And when I pray for them, I pray for myself: for I pray for them that they may rule so, that I and all men may live quietly and at rest. And to this end we desire a quiet life, that we may the better serve God, hear his word, and live after it. For in the rebels' time, I pray you, what godliness was shewed amongst them? They went so far, as it was told, that they defiled other men's wives: what godliness was this? In what estate, think you, were those faithful subjects which at the same time were amongst them? They had sorrow enough, I warrant you. So it appeareth, that where war is, there is right godliness banished and gone. Therefore to pray for a quiet life, that is as much as to pray for a godly life, that we may serve God in our calling, and get our livings uprightly. So it appeareth, that praying for magistrates is as much as to pray for ourselves.

They that be children, and live under the rule of their parents, or have tutors, they pray in this petition for their parents and tutors; for they be necessary for their bringing up: and God will accept their prayer, as well as theirs which be of age. For God hath no respect of persons; he is as ready to hear the youngest as the oldest: therefore let them be brought up in godliness, let them know God. Let parents and tutors do their duties to bring them up so, that as soon as their age serveth, they may taste and savour God; let them fear God in the beginning, and so they shall do also when they be old. Because I speak here of orphans, I shall exhort you to be pitiful unto them; for it is a thing that pleaseth God, as St James witnesseth, saying, *Religio pura*, &c., "Pure religion."

It is a common speech amongst the people, and much used, that they say, "All religious houses are pulled down:" which is a very peevish saying, and not true, for they are not pulled down. That man and that woman that live together godly and quietly, doing the works of their vocation, and fear God, hear his word and keep it; that same is a religious house, that is, that house that pleaseth God. For religion, pure religion, I say, standeth not in wearing of a

monk's cowl, but in righteousness, justice, and well-doing, and, as St James saith, in visiting the orphans, and widows that lack their husbands, orphans, that lack their parents; to help them when they be poor, to speak for them when they be oppressed: herein standeth true religion, God's religion, I say: the other which was used was an unreligious life, yea, rather an hypocrisy. There is a text in scripture, I never read it but I remember these religious houses: *Estque recta homini via, cujus tamen postremum iter est ad mortem;* "There is a way, which way seemeth to men to be good, whose end is eternal perdition." When the end is naught, all is naught. So were these monks' houses, these religious houses. There were many people, specially widows, which would give over house-keeping, and go to such houses, when they might have done much good in maintaining of servants, and relieving of poor people; but they went their ways. What a madness was that! Again, how much cause we have to thank God, that we know what is true religion; that God hath revealed unto us the deceitfulness of those monks, which had a goodly shew before the world of great holiness, but they were naught within. Therefore scripture saith, *Quod excelsum est hominibus, abominabile est coram Deo;* "That which is highly esteemed before men is abominable before God." Therefore that man and woman that live in the fear of God are much better than their houses were.

I read once a story of a holy man, (some say it was St Anthony,) which had been a long season in the wilderness, neither eating nor drinking any thing but bread and water: at the length he thought himself so holy, that there should be nobody like unto him. Therefore he desired of God to know who should be his fellow in heaven. God made him answer, and commanded him to go to Alexandria; there he should find a cobler which should be his fellow in heaven. Now he went thither and sought him out, and fell in acquaintance with him, and tarried with him three or four days to see his conversation. In the morning his wife and he prayed together; then they went to their business, he in his shop, and she about her housewifery. At dinner time they had bread and cheese, wherewith they were well content, and took it thankfully. Their children were well taught to fear God, and to say their *Pater-noster*, and the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and so he spent his time in doing his duty truly. I warrant you, he did not so many false stitches

as coblers do now-a-days. St Anthony perceiving that, came to knowledge of himself, and laid away all pride and presumption. By this ensample you may learn, that honest conversation and godly living is much regarded before God; insomuch that this poor cobler, doing his duty diligently, was made St Anthony's fellow. So it appeareth that we be not destituted of religious houses: those which apply their business uprightly and hear God's word, they shall be St Anthony's fellows; that is to say, they shall be numbered amongst the children of God.

Further, in this petition the man and wife pray one for the other. For one is a help unto the other, and so necessary the one to the other: therefore they pray one for the other, that God will spare them their lives, to live together quietly and godly, according to his ordinance and institution; and this is good and needful. As for such as be not married, you shall know that I do not so much praise marriage, that I should think that single life is naught; as I have heard some which will scant allow single life. They think in their hearts that all those which be not married be naught: therefore they have a common saying amongst them, "What!" say they, "they be made of such metal as we be made of;" thinking them to be naught in their living; which suspicions are damnable afore God: for we know not what gifts God hath given unto them; therefore we cannot with good conscience condemn them or judge them. Truth it is, "marriage is good and honourable amongst all men," as St Paul witnesseth; *Et adulteros et fornicatores judicabit Dominus*, "And the Lord shall and will judge," that is, condemn, "adulterers and whoremongers;" but not those which live in single life. When thou livest in lechery, or art a whore, or whoremonger, then thou shalt be damned: but when thou livest godly and honestly in single life, it is well and allowable afore God; yea, and better than marriage: for St Paul saith, *Volo vos absque solicitudine esse*, "I will have you to be without carefulness," that is, unmarried; and sheweth the commodities, saying, "they that be unmarried set their minds upon God, how to please him, and to live after his commandments. But as for the other, the man is careful how to please his wife; and again, the woman how to please her husband." And this is St Paul's saying of the one as well as of the other. Therefore I will wish you not to condemn single life, but take one with the other; like as St Paul teacheth us, not so extol the

one, that we should condemn the other. For St Paul praiseth as well single life, as marriage; yea, and more too. For those that be single have more liberties to pray and to serve God than the other: for they that be married have much trouble and afflictions in their bodies. This I speak, because I hear that some there be which condemn single life. I would have them to know that matrimony is good, godly, and allowable unto all men: yet for all that, the single life ought not to be despised or condemned, seeing that scripture alloweth it; yea, and he affirmeth that it is better than matrimony, if it be clean without sin and offence.

Further, we pray here in this petition for good servants, that God will send unto us good, faithful, and trusty servants; for they are necessary for this bodily life, that our business may be done: and those which live in single life have more need of good trusty servants than those which are married. Those which are married can better oversee their servants. For when the man is from home, at the least the wife overseeth them, and keepeth them in good order. For I tell you, servants must be overseen and looked to: if they be not overseen, what be they? It is a great gift of God to have a good servant: for the most part of servants are but eye-servants; when their master is gone, they leave off from their labour, and play the sluggards: but such servants do contrary to God's commandment, and shall be damned in hell for their slothfulness, except they repent. Therefore, I say, those that be unmarried have more need of good servants than those which be married; for one of them at the least may always oversee the family. For, as I told you before, the most part of servants be eye-servants; they be nothing when they be not overseen.

There was once a fellow asked a philosopher a question, saying, *Quomodo saginatur equus?* "How is a horse made fat?" The philosopher made answer, saying, *Oculo domini*, "With his master's eye." Not meaning that the horse should be fed with his master's eye, but that the master should oversee the horse, and take heed to the horse-keeper, that the horse might be well fed. For when a man rideth by the way, and cometh to his inn, and giveth unto the hostler his horse to walk, and so he himself sitteth at the table and maketh good cheer, and forgetteth his horse; the hostler cometh and saith, "Sir, how much bread shall I give unto your horse?" He saith, "Give him two-penny worth." I warrant you, this

horse shall never be fat. Therefore a man should not say to the hostler, "Go, give him;" but he should see himself that the horse have it. In like manner, those that have servants must not only command them what they shall do, but they must see that it be done: they must be present, or else it shall never be done. One other man asked that same philosopher this question, saying, "What dung is it that maketh a man's land most fruitful in bringing forth much corn?" "Marry," said he, *Vestigia domini*, "The owner's footsteps." Not meaning that the master should come and walk up and down, and tread the ground; but he would have him to come and oversee the servants tilling of the ground, commanding them to do it diligently, and so to look himself upon their work: this shall be the best dung, saith the philosopher. Therefore never trust servants, except you may be assured of their diligence; for I tell you truly, I can come no where but I hear masters complaining of their servants. I think verily, they fear not God, they consider not their duties. Well, I will burthen them with this one text of scripture, and then go forward in my matters. The prophet Jeremy saith, *Maledictus qui facit opus Domini negligenter.* Another translation hath *fraudulenter*, but is one in effect: "Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently or fraudulently," take which you will. It is no light matter, that God pronounceth them to be cursed. But what is "cursed?" What is it? "Cursed" is as much to say as, "It shall not go well with them; they shall have no luck; my face shall be against them." Is not this a great thing? Truly, consider it as you list, but it is no light matter to be cursed of God, which ruleth heaven and earth. And though the prophet speaketh these words of warriors going to war, yet it may be spoken of all servants, yea, of all estates, but specially of servants; for St Paul saith, *Domino Christo servitis:* "You servants," saith he, "you serve the Lord Christ, it is his work." Then, when it is the Lord's work, take heed how you do it; for cursed is he that doth it negligently. But where is such a servant as Jacob was to Laban? How painful was he! How careful for his master's profit. Insomuch that when somewhat perished, he restored it again of his own. And where is such a servant as Eleazer was to Abraham his master? What a journey had he! How careful he was, and when he came to his journey's end, he would neither eat nor drink afore he had done his master's message; so that all his mind was given only to serve his

master, and to do according to his commandments: insomuch that he would neither eat nor drink till he had done according to his master's will! Much like to our Saviour's saying, *Cibus meus est ut faciam voluntatem ejus, qui misit me;* "This is my meat, to do the will of him that sent me." I pray you servants, mark this Eleazer well; consider all the circumstances of his diligent and faithful service, and follow it: else if you follow it not you read it to your own condemnation. Likewise consider the true service which Joseph, that young man, did unto his master Potiphar, lieutenant of the Tower; how faithfully he served, without any guile or fraud: therefore God promoted him so, that he was made afterwards the ruler over all Egypt. Likewise consider how faithful Daniel was in serving king Darius. Alack, that you servants be stubborn-hearted, and will not consider this! You will not remember that your service is the work of the Lord; you will not consider that the curse of God hangeth upon your heads for your slothfulness and negligence. Take heed, therefore, and look to your duties.

Now, further: whosoever prayeth this prayer with a good faithful heart, as he ought to do, he prayeth for all ploughmen and husbandmen, that God will prosper and increase their labour; for except he give the increase, all their labour and travail is lost. Therefore it is needful to pray for them, that God may send his benediction by their labour; for without corn and such manner of sustenance we cannot live. And in that prayer we include all artificers; for by their labours God giveth us many commodities which we could not lack. We pray also for wholesome air. Item, we pray for seasonable weather. When we have too much rain, we pray for fair weather: again, when we lack rain, we pray that God will send rain. And in that prayer we pray for our cattle, that God will preserve them to our use from all diseases: for without cattle we cannot live; we cannot till the ground, nor have meat: therefore we include them in our prayer too.

So you see that this prayer containeth innumerable things. For we pray for all such things as be expedient and needful for the preservation of this life. And not alone this, but we have here good doctrine and admonitions besides. For here we be admonished of the liberality of God our heavenly Father, which he sheweth daily over us. For our Saviour, knowing the liberality of God our heavenly Father, com-

mandeth us to pray. If he would not give us the things we ask, Christ would not have commanded us to pray. If he had borne an ill will against us, Christ would not have sent us to him. But our Saviour, knowing his liberal heart towards us, commandeth us to pray, and desire all things at his hands.

And here we be admonished of our estate and condition, what we be, namely, beggars. For we ask bread: of whom? Marry, of God. What are we then? Marry, beggars: the greatest lords and ladies in England are but beggars afore God. Seeing then that we all are but beggars, why should we then disdain and despise poor men? Let us therefore consider that we be but beggars; let us pull down our stomachs. For if we consider the matter well, we are like as they be afore God: for St Paul saith, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?* "What hast thou that thou hast not received of God?" Thou art but a beggar, whatsoever thou art: and though there be some very rich, and have great abundance, of whom have they it? Of God. What saith he, that rich man? He saith, "Our Father, which art in heaven, give us this day our daily bread:" then he is a beggar afore God as well as the poorest man. Further, how continueth the rich man in his riches? Who made him rich? Marry, God. For it is written, *Benedictio Dei facit divitem;* "The blessing of God maketh rich." Except God bless, it standeth to no effect: for it is written, *Comedent et non saturabuntur;* "They shall eat, but yet never be satisfied." Eat as much as you will, except God feed you, you shall never be full. So likewise, as rich as a man is, yet he cannot augment his riches, nor keep that he hath, except God be with him, except he bless him. Therefore let us not be proud, for we be beggars the best of us.

Note here, that our Saviour biddeth us to say, "us." This "us" lappeth in all other men with my prayer; for every one of us prayeth for another. When I say, "Give us this day our daily bread," I pray not for myself only, if I ask as he biddeth me; but I pray for all others. Wherefore say I not, "Our Father, give me this day my daily bread?" For because God is not my God alone, he is a common God. And here we be admonished to be friendly, loving, and charitable one to another: for what God giveth, I cannot say, "This is my own;" but I must say, "This is ours." For the rich man cannot say, "This is mine alone,

God hath given it unto me for my own use." Nor yet hath the poor man any title unto it, to take it away from him. No, the poor man may not do so; for when he doth so, he is a thief afore God and man. But yet the poor man hath title to the rich man's goods; so that the rich man ought to let the poor man have part of his riches to help and to comfort him withal. Therefore when God sendeth unto me much, it is not mine, but ours; it is not given unto me alone, but I must help my poor neighbours withal.

But here I must ask you rich men a question. How chanceth it you have your riches? "We have them of God," you will say. But by what means have you them? "By prayer," you will say. "We pray for them unto God, and he giveth us the same." Very well. But I pray you tell me, what do other men which are not rich? Pray they not as well as you do? "Yes," you must say; for you cannot deny it. Then it appeareth that you have your riches not through your own prayers only, but other men help you to pray for them: for they say as well, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread," as you do; and peradventure they be better than you be, and God heareth their prayer sooner than yours. And so it appeareth most manifestly, that you obtain your riches of God, not only through your own prayer, but through other men's too: other men help you to get them at God's hand. Then it followeth, that seeing you get not your riches alone through your own prayer, but through the poor man's prayer, it is meet that the poor man should have part of them; and you ought to relieve his necessity and poverty. But what meaneth God by this inequality, that he giveth to some an hundred pound; unto this man five thousand pound; unto this man in a manner nothing at all? What meaneth he by this inequality? Here he meaneth, that the rich ought to distribute his riches abroad amongst the poor: for the rich man is but God's officer, God's treasurer: he ought to distribute them according unto his Lord God's commandment. If every man were rich, then no man would do any thing: therefore God maketh some rich and some poor. Again; that the rich may have where to exercise his charity, God made some rich and some poor: the poor he sendeth unto the rich to desire of him in God's name help and aid. Therefore, you rich men, when there cometh a poor man unto you, desiring your help, think none otherwise but that God hath sent

him unto you; and remember that thy riches be not thy own, but thou art but a steward over them. If thou wilt not do it, then cometh in St John, which saith: "He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother lack, and helpeth him not, how remaineth the love of God in him?" He speaketh not of them that have it not, but of them that have it: that same man loveth not God, if he help not his neighbour, having wherewith to do it. This is a sore and hard word. There be many which say with their mouth, they love God: and if a man should ask here this multitude, whether they love God or no; they would say, "Yes, God forbid else!" But if you consider their unmercifulness unto the poor, you shall see, as St John said, "the love of God is not within them." Therefore, you rich men, ever consider of whom you have your riches: be it a thousand pound, yet you fetch it out of this petition. For this petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," is God's store-house, God's treasure-house: here lieth all his provision, and here you fetch it. But ever have in remembrance that this is a common prayer: a poor man prayeth as well as thou, and peradventure God sendeth this riches unto thee for another man's prayers' sake, which prayeth for thee, whose prayer is more effectual than thine own. And therefore you ought to be thankful unto other men, which pray for you unto God, and help you to obtain your riches. Again, this petition is a remedy against this wicked carefulness of men, when they seek how to live, and how to get their livings, in such wise, like as if there were no God at all. And then there be some which will not labour as God hath appointed unto them; but rather give them to falsehood; to sell false ware, and deceive their neighbours; or to steal other men's sheep or conies: those fellows are far wide. Let them come to God's treasure-house, that is to say, let them come to God and call upon him with a good faith, saying, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread;" truly God will hear them. For this is the only remedy that we have here on earth, to come to his treasure-house, and fetch there such things as we lack. Consider this word "daily." God promiseth us to feed us daily. If ye believe this, why use you then falsehood and deceit? Therefore, good people, leave your falsehood; get you rather to this treasure-house; then you may be sure of a living: for God hath determined that all that come unto him,

desiring his help, they shall be holpen; God will not forget them. But our unbelief is so great, we will not come unto him: we will rather go about to get our living with falsehood, than desire the same of him.

O what falsehood is used in England, yea, in the whole world! It were no marvel if the fire from heaven fell upon us, like as it did upon the Sodomites, only for our falsehood's sake! I will tell you of a false practice that was practised in my country where I dwell. But I will not tell it you to teach you to do the same, but rather to abhor it: for those which use such deceitfulness shall be damned world without end, except they repent. I have known some that had a barren cow: they would fain have had a great deal of money for her; therefore they go and take a calf of another cow, and put it to this barren cow, and so come to the market, pretending that this cow hath brought that calf; and so they sell their barren cow six or eight shillings dearer than they should have done else. The man which bought the cow cometh home: peradventure he hath a many of children, and hath no more cattle but this cow, and thinketh he shall have some milk for his children; but when all things cometh to pass, this is a barren cow, and so this poor man is deceived. The other fellow, which sold the cow, thinketh himself a jolly fellow and a wise merchant; and he is called one that can make shift for himself. But I tell thee, whosoever thou art, do so if thou lust, thou shalt do it of this price,—thou shalt go to the devil, and there be hanged on the fiery gallows world without end: and thou art as very a thief as when thou takest a man's purse from him going by the way, and thou sinnest as well against this commandment, *Non facies furtum*, "Thou shalt do no theft." But these fellows commonly, which use such deceitfulness and guiles, can speak so finely, that a man would think butter should scant melt in their mouths.

I tell you one other falsehood. I know that some husbandmen go to the market with a quarter of corn: now they would fain sell dear the worst as well as the best; therefore they use this policy: they go and put a strike[1] of fine malt or corn in the bottom of the sack, then they put two strikes of the worst they had; then a good strike aloft in the sack's mouth, and so they come to the market. Now there cometh a buyer, asking, "Sir, is this good malt?" "I warrant you,"

[1] a bushel.

saith he, "there is no better in this town." And so he selleth all his malt or corn for the best, when there be but two strikes of the best in his sack. The man that buyeth it thinketh he hath good malt, he cometh home: when he putteth the malt out of the sack, the strike which was in the bottom covereth the ill malt which was in the midst; and so the good man shall never perceive the fraud, till he cometh to the occupying of the corn. The other man that sold it taketh this for a policy: but it is theft afore God, and he is bound to make restitution of so much as those two strikes which were naught were sold too dear; so much he ought to restore, or else he shall never come to heaven, if God be true in his word.

I could tell you of one other falsehood, how they make wool to weigh much: but I will not tell it you. If you learn to do those falsehoods whereof I have told you now, then take the sauce with it, namely, that you shall never see the bliss of heaven, but be damned world without end, with the devil and all his angels. Now go when it please you, use falsehood. But I pray you, wherefore will you deceive your neighbour, whom you ought to love as well as your own self? Consider the matter, good people, what a dangerous thing it is to fall into the hands of the ever-living God. Leave falsehood: abhor it. Be true and faithful in your calling. *Quærite regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et cetera omnia adjicientur vobis:* "Seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, then all things necessary for you shall come unto you unlooked for."

Therefore in this petition, note first God's goodness, how gentle he is towards us; insomuch that he would have us to come unto him and take of him all things. Then again, note what we be, namely, beggars, for we beg of him; which admonisheth us to leave stoutness and proudness, and to be humble. Note what is, "our;" namely, that one prayeth for another, and that this storehouse is common unto all men. Note again, what we be when we be false;—the children of the devil, and enemies unto God.

There be some men which would have this petition not to import or contain these bodily things, as things which be too vile to be desired at God's hand; therefore they expound it altogether spiritually, of things pertaining unto the soul only: which opinion, truly, I do not greatly like. For shall I trust God for my soul, and shall I not trust him for my

body? Therefore I take it, that all things necessary to soul and body are contained in this petition: and we ought to seek all things necessary to our bodily food only in this storehouse.

But you must not take my sayings after such sort, as though you should do nothing but sit and pray; and yet you should have your dinner and supper made ready for you. No, not so: but you must labour, you must do the work of your vocation. *Quærite regnum Dei*, "Seek the kingdom of heaven:" you must set those two things together, works and prayer. He that is true in his vocation, doing according as God willeth him to do, and then prayeth unto God, that man or woman may be assured of their living; as sure, I say, as God is God. As for the wicked, indeed God of his exceeding mercy and liberality findeth them; and sometimes they fare better than the good man doth: but for all that the wicked man hath ever an ill conscience; he doth wrong unto God; he is an usurper, he hath no right unto it. The good and godly man he hath right unto it; for he cometh by it lawfully, by his prayer and travail. But these covetous men, think ye, say they this prayer with a faithful heart, "Our Father, which art in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread?" Think ye they say it from the bottom of their hearts? No, no; they do but mock God, they laugh him to scorn, when they say these words. For they have their bread, their silver and gold in their coffers, in their chests, in their bags or budgets; therefore they have no savour of God: else they would shew themselves liberal unto their poor neighbours; they would open their chests and bags, and lay out and help their brethren in Christ. They be as yet but scorners: they say this prayer like as the Turk might say it.

Consider this word, "Give." Certainly, we must labour, yet we must not so magnify our labour as though we gat our living by it. For labour as long as thou wilt, thou shalt have no profit by it, except the Lord increase thy labour. Therefore we must thank him for it; he doth it; he giveth it. To whom? *Laboranti et poscenti*, "Unto him that laboureth and prayeth." That man that is so disposed shall not lack, as he saith, *Dabit Spiritum Sanctum poscentibus illum;* "He will give the Holy Ghost unto them that desire the same." Then, we must ask; for he giveth not to sluggards. Indeed, they have his benefits; they live wealthily: but, as I told you afore, they have it with an ill conscience, not lawfully.

Therefore Christ saith, *Solem suum oriri sinit super justos et injustos;* "He suffers his sun to rise upon the just and unjust." Also, *Nemo scit an odio vel amore sit dignus;* "We cannot tell outwardly by these worldly things, which be in the favour of God, and which be not;" for they be common unto good and bad: but the wicked have it not with a good conscience; the upright, good man hath his living through his labour and faithful prayer. Beware that you trust not in your labour, as though ye got your living by it: for, as St Paul saith, *Qui plantat nihil est, neque qui rigat, sed qui dat incrementum Deus;* "Neither he that planteth is aught, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." Except God give the increase, all our labour is lost. They that be the children of this world, as covetous persons, extortioners, oppressors, caterpillars, usurers, think you they come to God's storehouse? No, no, they do not; they have not the understanding of it; they cannot tell what it meaneth. For they look not to get their livings at God's storehouse, but rather they think to get it with deceit and falsehood, with oppression, and wrong doings. For they think that all things be lawful unto them; therefore they think that though they take other men's goods through subtilty and crafts, it is no sin. But I tell you, those things which we buy, or get with our labour, or are given us by inheritance, or otherways, those things be ours by the law; which maketh *meum* and *tuum*, mine and thine. Now all things gotten otherwise are not ours; as those things which be gotten by crafty conveyances, by guile and fraud, by robbery and stealing, by extortion and oppression, by hand-making, or howsoever you come by it beside the right way, it is not yours; insomuch that you may not give it for God's sake, for God hateth it.

But you will say, "What shall we do with the good gotten by unlawful means?" Marry, I tell thee: make restitution; which is the only way that pleaseth God. O Lord, what bribery, falsehood, deceiving, false getting of goods is in England! And yet for all that, we hear nothing of restitution; which is a miserable thing. I tell you, none of them which have taken their neighbour's goods from him by any manner of falsehood, none of them, I say, shall be saved, except they make restitution, either in affect or effect; in effect, when they be able; in affect when they be not able in no wise. Ezekiel saith, *Si impius egerit pœnitentiam*,

et rapinam reddiderit; "When the ungodly doth repent, and restoreth the goods gotten wrongfully and unlawfully." For unlawful goods ought to be restored again: without restitution look not for salvation. Also, this is a true sentence used of St Augustine, *Non remittetur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum;* "Robbery, falsehood, or otherwise ill-gotten goods, cannot be forgiven of God, except it be restored again." Zacheus, that good publican, that common officer, he gave a good ensample unto all bribers and extortioners. I would they all would follow his ensample! He exercised not open robbery; he killed no man by the way; but with crafts and subtilties he deceived the poor. When the poor men came to him, he bade them to come again another day; and so delayed the time, till at the length he wearied poor men, and so gat somewhat of them. Such fellows are now, in our time, very good cheap; but they will not learn the second lesson. They have read the first lesson, how Zachee was a bribe-taker; but they will not read the second: they say A, but they will not say B. What is the second lesson? *Si quem defraudavi, reddam quadruplum;* "If I have deceived any man, I will restore it fourfold." But we may argue that they be not such fellows as Zacheus was, for we hear nothing of restitution; they lack right repentance.

It is a wonderful thing to see, that christian people will live in such an estate, wherein they know themselves to be damned: for when they go to bed, they go in the name of the devil. Finally, whatsoever they do, they do it in his name, because they be out of the favour of God. God loveth them not; therefore, I say, it is to be lamented that we hear nothing of restitution. St Paul saith, *Qui furabatur non amplius furetur;* "He that stale, let him steal no more." Which words teach us, that he which hath stolen or deceived, and keepeth it, he is a strong thief so long till he restore again the thing taken; and shall look for no remission of his sins at God's hand, till he hath restored again such goods. There be some which say, "Repentance or contrition will serve; it is enough when I am sorry for it." Those fellows cannot tell what repentance meaneth. Look upon Zacheus: he did repent, but restitution by and by followed. So let us do too; let us live uprightly and godly; and when we have done amiss, or deceived any body, let us make restitution. And after, beware of such sins, of such deceitfulness; but rather let us call upon God, and resort to his storehouse,

and labour faithfully and truly for our livings. Whosoever is so disposed, him God will favour, and he shall lack nothing: as for the other impenitent sluggards, they be devourers and usurpers of God's gifts, and therefore shall be punished, world without end, in everlasting fire.

Remember this word "our:" what it meaneth I told you. And here I have occasion to speak of the proprieties of things: for I fear, if I should leave it so, some of you would report me wrongfully, and affirm, that all things should be common. I say not so. Certain it is, that God hath ordained proprieties of things, so that that which is mine is not thine; and what thou hast I cannot take from thee. If all things were common, there could be no theft, and so this commandment, *Non facies furtum*, "Thou shalt not steal," were in vain. But it is not so: the laws of the realm make *meum et tuum*, mine and thine. If I have things by those laws, then I have them well. But this you must not forget, that St Paul saith, *Sitis necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes;* "Relieve the necessity of those which have need." Things are not so common, that another man may take my goods from me, for this is theft; but they are so common, that we ought to distribute them unto the poor, to help them, and to comfort them with it. We ought one to help another; for this is a standing sentence: *Qui habuerit substantiam hujus mundi, et viderit fratrem suum necessitatem habere, et clauserit viscera sua ab eo, quomodo caritas Dei manet in eo?* "He that hath the substance of this world, and shall see his brother to have need, and shutteth up his entire affection from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" There was a certain manner of having things in common in the time of the apostles. For some good men, as Barnabas was, sold their lands and possessions, and brought the money unto the apostles: but that was done for this cause,—there was a great many of christian people at that time entreated very ill, insomuch that they left all their goods: now, such folk came unto the apostles for aid and help; therefore those which were faithful men, seeing the poverty of their brethren, went and sold that that they had, and spent the money amongst such poor which were newly made Christians. Amongst others which sold their goods there was one Ananias and Saphira his wife, two very subtile persons: they went and sold their goods too; but they played a wise part: they would not stand in danger of the losing of all their goods;

therefore they agreed together, and took the one part from the money, and laid it up; with the other part they came to Peter, affirming that to be the whole money. For they thought in their hearts, like as all unfaithful men do, "We cannot tell how long this religion shall abide; it is good to be wise, and keep somewhat in store, whatsoever shall happen." Now Peter, knowing by the Holy Ghost their falsehood, first slew him with one word, and after her too: which indeed is a fearful ensample, whereby we should be monished to beware of lies and falsehood. For though God punish thee not by and by, as he did this Ananias, yet he shall find thee; surely he will not forget thee. Therefore learn here to take heed of falsehood, and beware of lies. For this Ananias, this wilful Ananias, I say, because of this wilful lie, went to hell with his wife, and there shall be punished world without end. Where you see what a thing it is to make a lie. This Ananias needed not to sell his lands, he had no such commandment: but seeing he did so, and then came and brought but half the price, making a pretence as though he had brought all, for that he was punished so grievously. O what lies are made now-a-days in England, here and there in the markets! truly it is a pitiful thing that we nothing consider it. This one ensample of Ananias and Saphira, their punishment, is able to condemn the whole world.

You have heard now, how men had things in common in the first church: but St Paul he teacheth us how things ought to be in common amongst us, saying, *Sitis necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes;* "Help the necessity of those which be poor." Our good is not so ours that we may do with it what us listeth; but we ought to distribute it unto them which have need. No man, as I told you before, ought to take away my goods from me; but I ought to distribute that that I may spare, and help the poor withal. *Communicantes necessitatibus*, saith St Paul; "Distribute them unto the poor," let them lack nothing; but help them with such things as you may spare. For so it is written, *Cui plus datum est, plus requiretur ab illo;* "He that hath much, must make account for much; and if he have not spent it well, he must make the heavier account." But I speak not this to let poor folks from labour; for we must labour and do the works of our vocation, every one in his calling: for so it is written, *Labores manuum tuarum manducabis, et bene tibi erit*, "Thou shalt eat thy hand-labour, and it shall

go well with thee." That is to say, every man shall work for his living, and shall not be a sluggard, as a great many be: every man shall labour and pray; then God will send him his living. St Paul saith, *Qui non laborat, non comedat;* "He that laboureth not, let him not eat." Therefore those lubbers which will not labour, and might labour, it is a good thing to punish them according unto the king's most godly statutes. For God himself saith, *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo;* "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread." Then cometh in St Paul, who saith, *Magis autem laboret, ut det indigentibus;* "Let him labour the sorer, that he may have wherewith to help the poor." And Christ himself saith, *Melius est dare quam accipere;* "It is better to give than to take." So Christ, and all his apostles, yea, the whole scripture admonisheth us ever of our neighbour, to take heed of him, to be pitiful unto him: but God knoweth there be a great many which care little for their neighbours. They do like as Cain did, when God asked him, "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?" "What," saith he, "am I my brother's keeper?" So these rich franklings,[1] these covetous fellows, they scrape all to themselves, they think they should care for nobody else but for themselves: God commandeth the poor man to labour the sorer, to the end that he may be able to help his poor neighbour: how much more ought the rich to be liberal unto them!

But you will say, "Here is a marvellous doctrine, which commandeth nothing but 'Give, Give:' if I shall follow this doctrine, I shall give so much, that at the length I shall have nothing left for myself." These be words of infidelity; he that speaketh such words is a faithless man. And I pray you, tell me, have ye heard of any man that came to poverty, because he gave unto the poor? Have you heard tell of such a one? No, I am sure you have not. And I dare lay my head to pledge for it, that no man living hath come, or shall hereafter come to poverty, because he hath been liberal in helping the poor. For God is a true God, and no liar: he promiseth us in his word, that we shall have the more by giving to the needy. Therefore the way to get is to scatter that that you have. Give, and you shall gain. If you ask me, "How shall I get riches?" I make thee this answer: "Scatter that that thou hast; for giving is gaining." But you must take heed, and scatter it according unto God's will and

[1] A man above a vassal; a freeholder.

pleasure; that is, to relieve the poor withal, to scatter it amongst the flock of Christ. Whosoever giveth so shall surely gain: for Christ saith, *Date, et dabitur vobis;* "Give, and it shall be given unto you." *Dabitur*, "it shall be given unto you." This is a sweet word, we can well away with that; but how shall we come by it? *Date*, "Give." This is the way to get, to relieve the poor. Therefore this is a false and wicked proposition, to think that with giving unto the poor we shall come to poverty. What a giver was Loth, that good man: came he to poverty through giving? No, no; he was a great rich man. Abraham, the father of all believers, what a liberal man was he; insomuch that he sat by his door watching when anybody went by the way, that he might call him, and relieve his necessity! What, came he to poverty? No, no: he died a great rich man. Therefore let us follow the ensample of Loth and Abraham: let us be liberal, and then we shall augment our stock. For this is a most certain and true word, *Date, et dabitur vobis;* "Give, and it shall be given unto you." But we believe it not; we cannot away with it. The most part of us are more given to take from the poor, than to relieve their poverty. They be so careful for their children, that they cannot tell when they be well. They purchase this house and that house; but what saith the prophet? *Væ, qui conjungitis domum domui;* "Woe be unto you that join house to house!" the curse of God hangeth over your heads. Christ saith, *Qui diligit patrem vel matrem vel filios plus quam me non est me dignus;* "He that loveth his father or mother or children more than me, he is not meet for me." Therefore those which scrape and gather ever for their children, and in the mean season forget the poor, whom God would have relieved; those, I say, regard their children more than God's commandments: for their children must be set up, and the poor miserable people is forgotten in the mean season. There is a common saying amongst the worldlings, Happy is that child whose father goeth to the devil: but this is a worldly happiness. The same is seen when the child can begin with two hundred pound, whereas his father began with nothing: it is a wicked happiness, if the father gat those goods wickedly. And there is no doubt but many a father goeth to the devil for his child's sake; in that he neglected God's commandment, scraped for his child, and forgat to relieve his poor miserable neighbour. We have in scripture, *Qui mise-*

retur pauperis, fœneratur Deo ; "Whosoever hath pity over the poor, he lendeth unto God upon usury:" that is to say, God will give it unto him again with increase: this is a lawful and godly usury.

Certain it is, that usury was allowed by the laws of this realm; yet it followed not that usury was godly, nor allowed before God. For it is not a good argument, to say, "It is forbidden to take ten pounds of the hundred, *ergo*, I may take five:" like as a thief cannot say, "It is forbidden in the law to steal thirteen-pence half-penny; *ergo*, I may steal six-pence, or three-pence, or two-pence." No, no; this reasoning will not serve afore God: for though the law of this realm hangeth him not, if he steal four-pence, yet for all that he is a thief before God, and shall be hanged on the fiery gallows in hell. So he that occupieth usury, though by the laws of this realm he might do it without punishment, (for the laws are not so precise,) yet for all that he doth wickedly in the sight of God. For usury is wicked before God, be it small or great; like as theft is wicked. But I will tell you how you shall be usurers to get much gain. Give it unto the poor; then God will give it to thee with gain. Give twenty pence, and thou shalt have forty pence. It shall come again, thou shalt not lose it; or else God is not God. What needeth it to use such deceitfulness and falsehood to get riches? Take a lawful way to get them; that is, to scatter this abroad that thou hast, and then thou shalt have it again with great gain: *quadruplum*, "four times," saith scripture. Now God's word saith, that I shall have again that which I laid out with usury, with gain. Is it true that God saith? Yes: then let me not think, that giving unto the poor doth diminish my stock, when God saith the contrary, namely, that it shall increase; or else we make God a liar. For if I believe not his sayings, then by mine infidelity I make him a liar, as much as is in me. Therefore learn here to commit usury: and specially you rich men, you must learn this lesson well; for of you it is written, "Whosoever hath much, must make account for much." And you have much, not to that end, to do with it what you lust; but you must spend it as God appointeth you in his word to do: for no rich man can say before God, "This is my own." No, he is but an officer over it, an almoner, God's treasurer. Our Saviour saith, *Omnis qui reliquerit agrum, &c., centuplum accipiet;* "Whosoever shall leave his field, shall receive it

again an hundred fold." As, if I should be examined now of the papists, if they should ask me, "Believe you in the mass?" I say, "No; according unto God's word, and my conscience, it is naught, it is but deceitfulness, it is the devil's doctrine." Now I must go to prison, I leave all things behind me, wife and children, goods and land, and all my friends: I leave them for Christ's sake, in his quarrel. What saith our Saviour unto it? *Centuplum accipiet;* "I shall have an hundred times so much." Now though this be spoken in such wise, yet it may be understood of alms-giving too. For that man or woman that can find in their hearts for God's sake to leave ten shillings or ten pounds, they shall have "an hundred-fold again in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting." If this will not move our hearts, then they are more than stony and flinty; then our damnation is just and well deserved. For to give alms, it is like as when a man cometh unto me, and desireth an empty purse of me: I lend him the purse, he cometh by and by and bringeth it full of money, and giveth it me; so that I have now my purse again, and the money too. So it is to give alms: we lend an empty purse, and take a full purse for it. Therefore let us persuade ourselves in our hearts, that to give for God's sake is no loss unto us, but great gain. And truly the poor man doth more for the rich man in taking things of him, than the rich doth for the poor in giving them. For the rich giveth but only worldly goods, but the poor giveth him by the promise of God all felicity.

Quotidianum, "Daily." Here we learn to cast away all carefulness, and to come to this storehouse of God, where we shall have all things competent both for our souls and bodies. Further, in this petition we desire that God will feed not only our bodies, but also our souls; and so we pray for the office of preaching. For like as the body must be fed daily with meat, so the soul requireth her meat, which is the word of God. Therefore we pray here for all the clergy, that they may do their duties, and feed us with the word of God according to their calling.

Now I have troubled you long, therefore I will make an end. I desire you remember to resort to this storehouse: whatsoever ye have need of, come hither; here are all things necessary for your soul and body, only desire them. But you have heard how you must be apparelled; you must labour and do your duties, and then come, and you shall find

all things necessary for you: and specially now at this time let us resort unto God; for it is a great drought, as we think, and we had need of rain. Let us therefore resort unto our loving Father, which promiseth, that when we call upon him with a faithful heart, he will hear us. Let us therefore desire him to rule the matter so, that we may have our bodily sustenance. We have the ensample of Elias, whose prayer God heard. Therefore let us pray this prayer, which our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ himself taught us, saying, "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c. *Amen.*

SERMONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Sixth Sermon upon the Lord's Prayer, made by Master Hugh Latimer.

Et remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris.
MATTHEW vi. 12.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

THIS is a very good prayer, if it be said in faith with the whole heart. There was never none that did say it with the heart, but he had forgiveness; and his trespasses and all his sins were pardoned and taken from him. As touching the former petitions, I told you that many things were contained in them; which you may perceive partly by that I have said, and partly by gatherings and conjectures. Truly there is a great doctrine in it; yet we think it to be but a light matter to understand the Lord's prayer: but it is a great thing. Therefore I would have you to mark it well: but specially keep in your remembrance, how our Saviour teacheth us to know the liberality of God, how God hath determined to help us; insomuch that we shall lack nothing, if we come to his treasure-house, where is locked up all things necessary for our souls and bodies. Farther, consider by the same petition that we be but beggars altogether. For the best of us hath need to say daily, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread." I would these proud and lofty fellows would consider this, namely, that they be but beggars; as St Paul saith, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?* "What have ye, that you have not gotten with begging?" Yet most, above all things, I would have you to consider this word "our;" for in that word are contained great mysteries and much learning. All those that pray this prayer, that is to say, all christian people, help me to get my living at God's hand; for when they say "our," they include me in their prayers. Again, consider the remedy against carefulness; which is to trust in God, to hang upon him, to come to his

treasure-house; and then to labour, and to do the works of our vocation: then undoubtedly God will provide for us, we shall not lack. Therefore learn to trust upon the Lord, and leave this wicked carefulness, whereof our Saviour monisheth us. Specially, I would have you to consider what a wicked opinion this is, to fantasy that giving to the poor is a diminishing of our goods. I told you of late of the proprieties of things, how things be ours, and how they be not ours. All those things which we have, either by labour or by inheritance, or else by gifts, or else by buying, all those things which we have by such titles be our own; but yet not so that we may spend them according to our own pleasure. They be ours upon the condition that we shall spend them to the honour of God, and the relieving of our neighbours. And here I spake of restitution; how we ought to make amends unto that man whom we have deceived, or taken goods wrongfully from him. There be some men which think there is no other theft but only taking of purses, and killing men by the way, or stealing other men's good. Those men are much deceived; for there be *varia genera furti*, "A great number of thieves." What was this but a theft, when Esay saith, *Principes tui infideles, socii furum;* "Thy princes are infidels, and are companions with thieves?" This was a theft, but it was not a common theft; it was a lordly theft: they could tell how to weary men, and so to take bribes of them. Such a one was Zachee: he robbed not men by the highway, but he was an oppressor, and forced men to pay more than they ought to pay; which his so doing was as well a theft, as if he had robbed men by the highway. There be many which follow Zachee in his illness, but there be but few, or none at all, which will follow him in his goodness: *Si quem defraudavi, reddam quadruplum;* "If I have deceived any man, I will pay it again fourfold." I would wish that all bribers and false tollers would follow his ensample. But I tell you, without restitution there is no salvation. This is a certain sentence, allowed and approved, first, by the holy scripture; secondarily, by all the writers that ever wrote upon scripture. Yea, the very school-doctors, as bad as they were, yet they never contraried in that, but said: *Restitutiones famæ ac rerum sunt opera debita;* "We ought to make restitution of a man's good name, and of his goods taken from him wrongfully:" that is to say, when we have slandered any body, we ought to make him amends.

Item, also, when we have taken any man's goods wrongfully, we ought to make him amends; else we shall never be saved: for God abhorreth me, and all things that I do are abominable before him.

Remitte. Who is in this world which hath not need to say, "Lord, forgive me?" No man living, nor never was, nor shall be, our Saviour only excepted: he was *Agnus immaculatus*, "An undefiled Lamb." I remember a verse which I learned almost forty years ago, which is this: *Sæpe precor mortem, mortem quoque deprecor idem;* "I pray many times for death to come; and again I pray, that he shall not come." This verse doth put diversity in *precor* and *deprecor*: *precor* is, when I would fain have a thing; *deprecor* is, when I would avoid it. Like as Elias the prophet, when Jezabel had killed the prophets of the Lord; Elias, being in a hole in the mount, desired of God to die; and this is *precor*. Now *deprecor* is his *contrarium;* when I would avoid the thing, then I use *deprecor*. Now in the Lord's prayer, till hither we have been in *precor;* that is to say, we have desired things at God's hand. Now cometh *deprecor;* I desire him now to remove such things which may do me harm: as sin, which doth harm; therefore I would have him to take away my trespasses. Now who is in this world, or ever hath been, which hath not need to say this *deprecor;* to desire God to take from him his sins, to "forgive him his trespasses?" Truly, no saint in heaven, be they as holy as ever they will, yet they have had need of this *deprecor;* they have had need to say, "Lord, forgive us our trespasses." Now you ask, wherein standeth our righteousness? Answer: in that, that God forgiveth unto us our unrighteousness. Wherein standeth our goodness? In that, that God taketh away our illness; so that our goodness standeth in his goodness.

In the other petition we desire all things necessary for our bodily life, as long as we be here in this world: *Unusquisque enim tempus certum habet prædefinitum a Domino;* "For every man hath a certain time appointed him of God, and God hideth that same time from us." For some die in young age, some in old age, according as it pleaseth him. He hath not manifested to us the time, because he would have us at all times ready: else if I knew the time, I would presume upon it, and so should be worse. But he would have us ready at all times, and therefore he hideth the time

of our death from us. And it is a common saying, "There do come as many skins of calves to the market, as there do of bulls or kine." But of that we may be sure, there shall not fall one hair from our head without his will; and we shall not die before the time that God hath appointed unto us: which is a comfortable thing, specially in time of sickness or wars. For there be many men which are afraid to go to war, and to do the king service, for they fear ever they shall be slain. Item, vicars and parsons be afraid when there cometh a sickness in the town; therefore they were wont commonly to get themselves out of the way, and send a friar thither, which did nothing else but rob and spoil them: which doings of the vicar was damnable; for it was a diffidence and a mistrust in God. Therefore, ye vicars, parsons, or curates, what name soever you bear, when there cometh any sickness in your town, leave not your flock without a pastor, but comfort them in their distress; and believe certainly, that with your well-doings you cannot shorten your lives. Likewise, thou subject, when thou art commanded by the king or his officers to go to war, to fight against the king's enemies; go with a good heart and courage, not doubting but that God will preserve thee, and that thou canst not shorten thy life with well-doing. Peradventure God hath appointed thee to die there, or to be slain: happy art thou when thou diest in God's quarrel. For to fight against the king's enemies, being called unto it by the magistrates, it is God's service: therefore when thou diest in that service with a good faith, happy art thou. There be some which say, when their friends are slain in battle, "Oh, if he had tarried at home, he should not have lost his life." These sayings are naught: for God hath appointed every man his time. To go to war in presumptuousness, without an ordinary calling, such going to war I allow not: but when thou art called, go in the name of the Lord; and be well assured in thy heart that thou canst not shorten thy life with well-doing.

Remitte, "Forgive us." Here we sue for our pardon; and so we acknowledge ourselves to be offenders: for the unguilty needeth no pardon. This pardon, or remission of sins, is so necessary, that no man can be saved without it. Therefore of remission standeth the christian man's life: for so saith David, *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata;* "They are blessed of

God whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered." He saith not, Blessed be they which have never sinned: for where dwell such fellows which never sinned? Marry, no where; they are not to be gotten. Here the prophet signified that all we be sinners; for he saith, *quorum peccata sunt remissa*, "whose sins are pardoned." And here we be painted out in our colours, else we would be proud; and so he saith in the gospel, *Cum sitis mali*, "Forasmuch as ye be all evil." There he giveth us our own title and name, calling us wicked and ill. There is neither man nor woman that can say they have no sin; for we be all sinners. But how can we hide our sins? Marry, the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ hideth our sins, and washeth them away. And though one man had done all the world's sins since Adam's time, yet he may be remedied by the blood of Jesus Christ: if he believe in him, he shall be cleansed from all his sins. Therefore all our comfort is in him, in his love and kindness. For St Peter saith, *Caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum;* "Charity covereth the multitude of sins." So doth indeed the love of our Saviour Jesu Christ: his love towards us covereth and taketh away all our sins; insomuch that the almighty God shall not condemn us, nor the devil shall not prevail against us. Our nature is ever to hide sin, and to cloak it; but this is a wicked hiding, and this hiding will not serve. *Videt et requiret;* "He seeth our wickedness, and he will punish it:" therefore our hiding cannot serve us. But if you be disposed to hide your sins, I will tell you how you shall hide them. First, acknowledge them; and then believe in our Saviour Christ; put him in trust withal: he will pacify his Father; for "to that end he came into the world, to save sinners." This is the right way to hide sins; not to go and excuse them, or to make them no sins. No, no; the prophet saith, *Beatus vir cui Dominus non imputat iniquitatem;* "Blessed is that man to whom the Lord imputeth not his sins." He saith not, "Blessed is he that did never sin;" but, "Blessed is he to whom sin is not imputed."

And so here in this petition we pray for remission of our sins; which is so requisite to the beginning of the spiritual life, that no man can come thereto, except he pray for remission of his sins; which standeth in Christ our Redeemer: he hath washen and cleansed our sins; by him we shall be

clean. But how shall we come to Christ? How shall we have him? I hear that he is beneficial, as scripture witnesseth: *Copiosa est apud Deum redemptio;* "There is full and plenteous redemption by him." But how shall I get that? how shall I come unto it? By faith. Faith is the hand wherewith we receive his benefits; therefore we must needs have faith. But how shall we obtain faith? Faith indeed bringeth Christ, and Christ bringeth remission of sins; but how shall we obtain faith? Answer: St Paul teacheth us this, saying: *Fides ex auditu*, "Faith cometh by hearing God's word." Then if we will come to faith, we must hear God's word: if God's word be necessary to be heard, then we must have preachers which be able to tell us God's word. And so it appeareth, that in this petition we pray for preachers; we pray unto God, that he will send men amongst us, which may teach us the way of everlasting life. Truly it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected, scholars not maintained: every true Christian ought to lament the same. But I have a good hope, since God hath done greater things in taking away and extirping out all popery, that he will send us a remedy for this matter too. I hope he will put into the magistrates' heart to consider these things; for by this office of preaching God sendeth faith. The office is the office of salvation; for "it hath pleased God" *per stultitiam prædicationis salvos facere credentes*, "by the foolishness of preaching to save the believers." So, I say, we pray for this office which bringeth faith. Faith bringeth to Christ; Christ bringeth remission of sins; remission of sins bringeth everlasting life.

O, this is a godly prayer, which we ought at all times to say, for we sin daily; therefore we had need to say daily, "Forgive us our trespasses;" and, as David saith, *Ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo*, "Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant;" for we be not able to abide his judgment. If it were not for this pardon, which we have in our Saviour Jesu Christ, we should all perish eternally. For when this word, *Remitte*, was spoken with a good faith and with a penitent heart, there was never man but he was heard. If Judas, that traitor, had said it with a good faith, it should have saved him; but he forgot that point. He was taught it indeed; our Saviour himself taught him to pray so, but he forgot it again. Peter, he remembered that point: he cried, *Remitte*, "Lord forgive me;" and so he obtained his pardon.

And so shall we do: for we be ever in that case, that we have need to say, *Remitte*, "Lord, forgive us;" for we ever do amiss.

But here is one addition, one hanger on: "As we forgive them that trespass against us." What meaneth this? Indeed it soundeth after the words, as though we might or should merit remission of our sins with our forgiving. As for an ensample: That man hath done unto me a foul turn, he hath wronged me; at the length he acknowledgeth his folly, and cometh to me, and desireth me to forgive him; I forgive him. Do I now, in forgiving my neighbour his sins which he hath done against me, do I, I say, deserve or merit at God's hand forgiveness of my own sins? No, no; God forbid! for if this should be so, then farewell Christ: it taketh him clean away, it diminisheth his honour, and it is very treason wrought against Christ. This hath been in times past taught openly in the pulpits and in the schools; but it was very treason against Christ: for in him only, and in nothing else, neither in heaven nor in earth, is our remission; unto him only pertaineth this honour. For remission of sins, wherein consisteth everlasting life, is such a treasure, that passeth all men's doings: it must not be our merits that shall serve, but his. He is our comfort: it is the majesty of Christ, and his blood-shedding, that cleanseth us from our sins. Therefore, whosoever is minded contrary unto this, *Factus est reus læsæ majestatis;* "he robbeth Christ of his majesty," and so casteth himself into everlasting danger. For though the works which we do be good outwardly, and God be pleased with them, yet they be not perfect: for we believe unperfectly, we love unperfectly, we suffer unperfectly, not as we ought to do; and so all things that we do are done unperfectly. But our Saviour, he hath so remedied the matter, and taken away our unperfectness, that they be counted now before God most perfect and holy, not for our own sake, but for his sake: and though they be not perfect, yet they be taken for perfect; and so we come to perfectness by him. So you see, as touching our salvation, we must not go to working to think to get everlasting life with our own doings. No, this were to deny Christ. Salvation, and remission of sins is his gift, his own and free gift. As touching our good works which we do, God will reward them in heaven; but they cannot get heaven. Therefore let every man do well, for it shall be well rewarded: but let them not think that they

with their doings may get heaven; for so doing is a robbing of Christ.

What shall we learn, now, by this addition, where we say, "As we forgive them that trespass against us?" I tell you, this addition is put unto it not without great cause: for our Saviour, being a wise and perfect schoolmaster, would speak no words in vain. This addition is put unto it, to be a certain and sure token unto us, whether we have the true faith in our hearts or no. For faith, the right faith, I say, consisteth not in the knowledge of the stories, to believe the stories written in the new and old Testament; that is not the lively faith, which bringeth salvation with her. For the devil himself believeth the stories, and yet is, and shall be damned world without end. Therefore we must have the right faith, the lively faith, the faith that bringeth salvation; which consisteth in believing that Christ died for my sins' sake. With such a faith I draw him unto me with all his benefits. I must not stand in generalities, as to believe that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate: but I must believe that that was done for my sake; to redeem with his passion my sins, and all theirs which believe and trust in him. If I believe so, then I shall not be deceived. But this faith is a hard thing to be had; and many a man thinketh himself to have that faith, when he hath nothing less. Therefore I will tell you how you shall prove whether you have the right faith or no, lest you be deceived with a phantasy of faith, as many be. Therefore prove thyself on this wise: here is a man which hath done me wrong, hath taken away my living or my good name; he hath slandered me, or otherwise hurt me: now at the length he cometh unto me, and acknowledgeth his faults and trespasses, and desireth me to forgive him: if I now feel myself ready and willing to give him, from the bottom of my heart, all things that he hath done against me, then I may be assured that I have the lively faith; yea, I may be assured that God will forgive me my sins for Christ his Son's sake. But when my neighbour cometh unto me, confessing his folly, and desiring forgiveness; if I then be sturdy and proud, my heart flinty, and my stomach bent against him, insomuch that I refuse his request, and have an appetite to be avenged upon him; if I have such a sturdy stomach, then I may pronounce against myself, that I have not that lively faith in Christ which cleanseth my sins. It is a sure token that I am not of the

number of the children of God, as long as I abide in this sturdiness.

There is no good body but he is slandered or injured by one mean or other; and commonly it is seen, that those which live most godly, have in this world the greatest rebukes: they are slandered and backbitten, and divers ways vexed of the wicked. Therefore thou, whosoever thou art, that sufferest such wrongs, either in thy goods and substance, or in thy good name and fame; examine thyself, go into thy heart; and if thou canst find in thy heart to forgive all thy enemies whatsoever they have done against thee, then thou mayest be sure that thou art one of the flock of God. Yet thou must beware, as I said before, that thou think not to get to heaven by such remitting of thy neighbour's ill-doings; but by such forgiving, or not forgiving, thou shalt know whether thou have faith or no. Therefore if we have a rebellious stomach, and a flinty heart against our neighbour, so that we are minded to avenge ourselves upon him, and so take upon us God's office, which saith, *Mihi vindicta, ego retribuam*, "Yield unto me the vengeance, and I shall recompense them;" as I told you, we be not of the flock of Christ. For it is written, *Si quis dixerit quoniam diligo Deum, et odio habet fratrem suum, mendax est:* "Whosoever saith, I love God, and hateth his brother, that man or woman is a liar." For it is impossible for me to love God and hate my neighbour. And our Saviour saith, *Si oraveritis, remittite;* "When you will pray, forgive first;" else it is to no purpose, you get nothing by your prayer. Likewise we see in the parable of that king which called his servants to make an account and pay their debts, where he remitteth one of them a great sum of money: now that same fellow, whom the lord pardoned, went out and took one of his fellow-servants by the neck, and handled him most cruelly, saying, "Give me my money." He had forgotten, belike, that his lord had forgiven him. Now the other servants, seeing his cruelness, came unto the king, and told him how that man used himself so cruelly to his fellow: the lord called him again, and after great rebukes cast him into prison, there to lie till he had paid the last farthing. Upon that our Saviour saith, *Sic et Pater meus cœlestis faciet vobis, si non remiseritis unusquisque fratri suo de cordibus vestris:* "Thus will my heavenly Father also do unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother even from your hearts." Therefore let us

take heed by that wicked servant, which would not forgive his fellow-servant when he desired of him forgiveness, saying, *Patientiam habe in me, et omnia reddam tibi;* "Have patience with me," saith he, "and I will pay thee all my debts." But we cannot say so unto God; we must only call for pardon. There be many folk, which when they be sick, they say, "O that I might live but one year longer, to make amends for my sins!" Which saying is very naught and ungodly; for we are not able to make amends for our sins; only Christ, he is "the Lamb of God which taketh away our sins." Therefore when we be sick, we should say: "Lord God, thy will be done; if I can do anything to thy honour and glory, Lord, suffer me to live longer: but thy will be done!" As for satisfaction, we cannot do the least piece of it.

You have heard now, how we ought to be willing to forgive our neighbours their sins, which is a very token that we be children of God: to this our Saviour also exhorteth us, saying, *Si frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te, relinque, &c.* "If thou offerest therefore thy gift before the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath somewhat against thee, leave thou thy gift there before the altar, and go first and be reconciled unto thy brother." "Leave it there," saith our Saviour, "if thy brother have any thing against thee: go not about to sacrifice to me, but first, above all things, go and reconcile thyself unto thy brother." On such wise St Paul also exhorteth us, saying, *Volo viros orare absque ira et disceptatione;* "I would have men to pray without anger and disceptation." There be many wranglers and brawlers now-a-days, which do not well: they shall well know that they be not in the favour of God; God is displeased with them. Let us therefore give up ourselves to prayer, so that we may love God and our neighbour. It is a very godly prayer to say, "Lord, forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us."

But there be peradventure some of you, which will say, "The priest can absolve me and forgive me my sins." Sir, I tell thee, the priest or minister, call him what you will, he hath power given unto him from our Saviour to absolve in such wise as he is commanded by him: but I think ministers be not greatly troubled therewith; for the people seek their carnal liberties; which indeed is not well, and a thing which misliketh God. For I would have them that are

grieved in conscience to go to some godly man, which is able to minister God's word, and there to fetch his absolution, if he cannot be satisfied in the public sermon; it were truly a thing which would do much good. But, to say the truth, there is a great fault in the priests; for they for the most part be unlearned and wicked, and seek rather means and ways to wickedness than to godliness. But a godly minister, which is instructed in the word of God, can and may absolve in open preaching; not of his own authority, but in the name of God: for God saith, *Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates;* "I am he that cleanseth thy sins." But I may absolve you, as an officer of Christ, in the open pulpit in this wise: "As many as confess their sins unto God, acknowledging themselves to be sinners; and believe that our Saviour, through his passion, hath taken away their sins, and have an earnest purpose to leave sin; as many, I say, as be so affectioned, *Ego absolvo vos;* I, as an officer of Christ, as his treasurer, absolve you in his name." This is the absolution that I can make by God's word. Again, as many as will stand in defence of their wickednesses, will not acknowledge them, nor purpose to leave them, and so have no faith in our Saviour, to be saved by him through his merit; to them I say, *Ego ligo vos*, "I bind you." And I doubt not but they shall be bound in heaven; for they be the children of the devil, as long as they be in such unbelief and purpose to sin. Here you see, how and in what wise a preacher may absolve or bind: but he cannot do it of fellowship, or worldly respect. No, in no wise; he must do it according as Christ hath commanded him. If God now command to forgive him, *qui peccat contra me*, "that sinneth against me;" how much more must I be reconciled to him whom I have offended! I must go unto him, and desire him to forgive me; I must acknowledge my fault, and so humble myself before him. Here a man might ask a question, saying: "What if a man have offended me grievously; and hath hurt me in my goods, or slandered me; and is sturdy in it, standeth in defence of himself and his own wickedness, he will not acknowledge himself; shall I forgive him?" Answer: Forsooth, God himself doth not so; he forgiveth not sins, except the sinner acknowledge himself, confess his wickedness, and cry him mercy. Now I am sure God requireth no more at our hands than he doth himself. Therefore I will say this: if thy neighbour or any man hath done against thee and will not confess his faults, but

wickedly defendeth the same, I, for my own discharge, must put away all rancour and malice out of my heart, and be ready, as far forth as I am able, to help him; if I do so, I am discharged afore God, but so is not he. For truly that sturdy fellow shall make an heavy account afore the righteous Judge.

Here I have occasion to speak against the Novatians, which deny remission of sins. Their opinion is, that he which cometh once to Christ, and hath received the Holy Ghost, and after that sinneth again, he shall never come to Christ again; his sins shall never be forgiven him: which opinion is most erroneous and wicked, yea, and clean against scripture. For if it should be so, there should nobody be saved; for there is no man but he sinneth daily. I told you how you should understand those two places of scripture, which seem to be very hard, *Non est sacrificium*, &c. "There is no sacrifice," &c. As concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost, we cannot judge aforehand, but after. I know now that Judas had sinned against the Holy Ghost; also Nero, Pharao, and one Franciscus Spira; which man had forsaken popery, and done very boldly in God's quarrel; at the length he was complained of, the Holy Ghost moved him in his heart to stick unto it, and not to forsake God's word; he, contrary to that admonition of the Holy Ghost, denied the word of God, and so finally died in desperation: him I may pronounce to have sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost. But I will shew you a remedy for the sin against the Holy Ghost. Ask remission of sin in the name of Christ, and then I ascertain you that you sin not against the Holy Ghost. For *gratia exsuperat supra peccatum;* "The mercy of God far exceedeth our sins."

I have heard tell of some, which when they said this petition, they perceived that they asked of God forgiveness, like as they themselves forgive their neighbours; and again, perceiving themselves so unapt to forgive their neighbours' faults, came to that point, that they would not say this prayer at all; but took our Lady's Psalter in hand, and such fooleries; thinking they might then do unto their neighbour a foul turn with a better conscience, than if they should say this petition: for here they wish themselves the vengeance of God upon their heads, if they bear grudge in their hearts, and say this petition. But if we will be right Christians, let us set aside all hatred and malice; let us live godly, and forgive our

enemy; so that we may from the bottom of our heart say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses." There be some when they say, "Forgive us our trespasses," they think that God will forgive *culpam* only, *sed non pœnam*, guiltiness and not the pain; and therefore they believe they shall go into purgatory, and there to be cleansed from their sins: which thing is not so; they be liars which teach such doctrine. For God forgiveth us both the pain and the guiltiness of sins: like as it appeared in David when he repented; Nathan said unto him, *Abstulit Dominus iniquitatem tuam*, "The Lord hath taken away thy wickedness." But they will say, "God took away the guiltiness of his sins, but not the pain; for he punished him afterward." Sir, you must understand that God punished him, but not to the end that he should make satisfaction and amends for his sins, but for a warning. God would give him a *Cave;* therefore he punished him. So likewise, whosoever is a repentant sinner, as David was, and believeth in Christ, he is clean *a pœna et a culpa*, both from the pain and guiltiness of his sins; yet God punisheth sins, to make us to remember and beware of sins.

Now to make an end: You have heard how needful it is for us to cry unto God for forgiveness of our sins: where you have heard, wherein forgiveness of our sins standeth, namely, in Christ the Son of the living God. Again, I told you how you should come to Christ, namely, by faith; and faith cometh through hearing the word of God. Remember then this addition, "As we forgive them that trespass against us;" which is a sure token, whereby we know whether we have the true faith in Christ or no. And here you learn, that it is a good thing to have an enemy; for we may use him to our great commodity: through him or by him we may prove ourselves, whether we have the true faith or no.

Now I shall desire you yet again to pray unto almighty God, that he will send such weather, whereby the fruits of the field may increase; for we think we have need of rain. Let us therefore call upon him, which knoweth what is best for us. Therefore say with me the Lord's prayer, as he himself hath taught us: "Our Father, which art," &c.

SERMONS ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Seventh Sermon upon the Lord's Prayer

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo.—MATTHEW vi. 13.
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

IN the petition afore, where we say, "Forgive us our trespasses," there we fetch remedies for sins past. For we must needs have forgiveness; we cannot remedy the matter of ourselves; our sins must be remedied by pardon, by remission: other righteousness we have not, but forgiving of our unrighteousness; our goodness standeth in forgiving of our illness. All mankind must cry pardon, and acknowledge themselves to be sinners; except our Saviour, who was clean without spot of sin. Therefore when we feel our sins, we must with a penitent heart resort hither, and say: "Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Mark well this addition, "as we forgive them that trespass;" for our Saviour putteth the same unto it, not to that end that we should merit any thing by it, but rather to prove our faith, whether we be of the faithful flock of God or no. For the right faith abideth not in that man that is disposed purposely to sin, to hate his even[1] Christian, or to do other manner of sins. For whosoever purposely sinneth, *contra conscientiam*, "against his conscience," he hath lost the Holy Ghost, the remission of sins, and finally Christ himself. But when we are fallen so, we must fetch them again at God's hand by this prayer, which is a storehouse: here we shall find remission of our sins. And though we be risen never so well, yet when we fall again, when we sin again, what remedy then? What availeth it me to be risen once, and fall by and by into the self-same sin again, which is a renovation of the other sins? For whosoever hath done wickedly an act against God, and

[1] Fellow-Christian.

afterwards is sorry for it, crieth God mercy, and so cometh to forgiveness of the same sin; but by and by, willingly, and wittingly, doth the self-same sin again;—he renovateth by so doing all those sins which beforetimes were forgiven him. Which thing appeareth by the lord, that took reckoning of his servants, where he found one which owed him a great sum of money: the lord pitied him, and remitted him all the debts. Now that same man afterward shewed himself unthankful and wicked: therefore the lord called him, and cast him into prison, there to lie till he had paid the uttermost farthing, notwithstanding that he had forgiven him afore, &c. So we see the guiltiness of the former sins turn again, when we do the same sins again. Seeing then that it is so dangerous a thing to fall into sin again, then we had need to have some remedy, some help, that we might avoid sin, and not fall thereto again: therefore here followeth this petition, "Lead us not into temptation."

Here we have a remedy, here we desire God that he will preserve us from falling into sin. Our Saviour, that loving school-master, knew whereof we had need; therefore he teacheth us to beg a preservation of God, that we fall not: "Lead us not, &c.;" that is to say, "Lord, lead us not into trial, for we shall soon be overcome, but preserve us; suffer us not to sin again; let us not fall; help us, that sin get not the victory over us." And this is a necessary prayer; for what is it that we can do? Nothing at all but sin. And therefore we have need to pray unto God, that he will preserve and keep us in the right way; for our enemy, the devil, is an unquiet spirit, ever lying in the way, seeking occasion how to bring us to ungodliness. Therefore it appeareth how much we have need of the help of God: for the devil is an old enemy, a fellow of great antiquity; he hath endured this five thousand five hundred and fifty-two years, in which space he hath learned all arts and cunnings; he is a great practiser; there is no subtilty but he knoweth the same. Like as an artificer that is cunning and expert in his craft, and knoweth how to go to work, how to do his business in the readiest way; so the devil knoweth all ways how to tempt us, and to give us an overthrow; insomuch that we can begin nor do nothing, but he is at our heels, and worketh some mischief, whether we be in prosperity or adversity, whether we be in health or sickness, life or death; he knoweth how to use the same to his purpose. As for an ensample: When a man is

rich, and of great substance, he by and by setteth upon him with his crafts, intending to bring him to mischief; and so he moveth him to despise and contemn God, to make his riches his God. Yea, he can put such pride into the rich man's heart, that he thinketh himself able to bring all things to pass; and so beginneth to oppress his neighbour with his riches. But God, by his holy word, warneth us and armeth us against such crafts and subtilties of the devil, saying, *Divitiæ si affluant, nolite cor apponere;* "If riches come upon you, set not your hearts upon them." He commandeth us not to cast them away, but not to set our hearts upon them, as wicked men do. For to be rich is a gift of God, if riches be rightly used; but the devil is so wily, he stirreth up rich men's hearts to abuse them. Again, when a man falleth into poverty, so that he lacketh things necessary to the sustentation of this bodily life; lo, the devil is even ready at hand to take occasion by the poverty to bring him to mischief. For he will move and stir up the heart of man that is in poverty, not to labour and calling upon God, but rather to stealing and robbing, notwithstanding God forbiddeth such sins in his laws; or else, at the least, he will bring him to use deceit and falsehood with his neighbour, intending that way to bring him to everlasting destruction. Further, when a man is in honour and dignity, and in great estimation, this serpent sleepeth not, but is ready to give him an overthrow. For though honour be good unto them which come lawfully by it, and though it be a gift of God; yet the devil will move that man's heart which hath honour, to abuse his honour: for he will make him lofty, and high-minded, and fill his heart full of ambitions, so that he shall have a desire ever to come higher and higher; and all those which will withstand him, they shall be hated, or ill entreated at his hand: and at the length he shall be so poisoned with this ambition, that he shall forget all humanity and godliness, and consequently fall in the fearful hands of God. Such a fellow is the devil, that old doctor!

If it cometh to pass that a man fall into open ignominy and shame, so that he shall be nothing regarded before the world; then the devil is at hand, moving and stirring his heart to irksomeness, and at the length to desperation. If he be young and lusty, the devil will put in his heart, and say to him: "What! thou art in thy flowers, man; take

thy pleasure; make merry with thy companions; remember the old proverb, 'Young saints, old devils.'" Which proverb in very deed is naught and deceitful, and the devil's own invention; which would have parents negligent in bringing up their children in goodness. He would rather see them to be brought up in illness and wickedness; therefore he found out such a proverb, to make them careless for their children. But, as I said afore, this proverb is naught: for look commonly, where children are brought up in wickedness, they will be wicked all their lives after; and therefore we may say thus, "Young devil, old devil; young saints, old saints." *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu;* "The earthen pot will long savour of that liquor that is first put into it." And here appeareth, how the devil can use the youth of a young man to his destruction, in exhorting him to follow the fond lusts of that age. Likewise when a man cometh to age, that old serpent will not leave him; but is ever stirring him from one mischief unto the other, from one wickedness to another. And commonly he moveth old folks to avarice and covetousness: for then old folk will commonly say, by the inspiration of the devil, "Now it is time for me to lay up, to keep in store somewhat for me, that I may have wherewith to live when I shall be a cripple." And so under this colour they set all their hearts and minds only upon this world; forgetting their poor neighbour, which God would have relieved by them. But, as I told you before, this is the devil's invention and subtilty, which blindeth their eyes so, and withdraweth their hearts so far from God, that it is scant possible for some to be brought again: for they have set all their hearts and phantasies in such wise upon their goods, that they cannot suffer any body to occupy their goods, nor they themselves use it not; to the verifying of this common sentence: *Avarus caret quod habet, æque ac quod non habet;* "The covetous man lacketh as well those things which he hath, as those things which he hath not." So likewise when we be in health, the devil moveth us to all wickedness and naughtiness, to whoredom, lechery, theft, and other horrible faults; putting clean out of our mind the remembrance of God and his judgments, insomuch that we forget that we shall die. Again, when we be in sickness, he goeth about like a lion to move and stir us up to impatiency and murmuring against God; or else he maketh our sins so horrible before us that we fall into desperation. And

so it appeareth that there is nothing either so high or low, so great or small, but the devil can use that self-same thing as a weapon to fight against us withal, like as with a sword. Therefore our Saviour, knowing the crafts and subtilties of our enemy the devil, how he goeth about day and night, without intermission, to seek our destruction, teacheth us here to cry unto God our heavenly father for aid and help, for a subsidy against this strong and mighty enemy, against the prince of this world, as St Paul disdained not to call him; for he knew his power and subtile conveyances. Belike St Paul had some experience of him.

Here by this petition, when we say, "Lead us not into temptation," we learn to know our own impossibility and infirmity; namely, that we be not able of our ownselves to withstand this great and mighty enemy, the devil. Therefore here we resort to God, desiring him to help and defend us, whose power passeth the strength of the devil. So it appeareth that this is a most needful petition: for when the devil is busy about us, and moveth us to do against God, and his holy laws and commandments, ever we should have in remembrance whither to go, namely, to God; acknowledging our weakness, that we be not able to withstand the enemy. Therefore we ought ever to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation."

This petition, "lead us not into temptation," the meaning of it is: "Almighty God, we desire thy holy majesty for to stand by and with us, with thy holy Spirit; so that temptation overcome us not, but that we, through thy goodness and help, may vanquish and get the victory over it: for it is not in our power to do it; thou, O God, must help us to strive and fight." It is with this petition, "lead us not into temptation," even as much as St Paul saith, *Ne regnet igitur peccatum in vestro mortali corpore;* "Let not sin reign in your corruptible body," saith St Paul. He doth not require that we shall have no sin, for that is impossible unto us; but he requireth that we be not servants unto sin; that we give not place unto it, that sin rule not in us. And this is a commandment: we are commanded to forsake and hate sin, so that it may have no power over us. Now we shall turn this commandment into a prayer, and desire of God that he will keep us, that he will not lead us into temptation; that is to say, that he will not suffer sin to have the rule and governance over us; and so we shall say with the prophet, *Domine,*

dirige gressus meos, "Lord, rule and govern thou me in the right way." And so we shall turn God's commandment into a prayer, to desire of him help to do his will and pleasure: like as St Augustine saith, *Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis;* "Give that thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt." As who say, "If thou wilt command only and not give, then we shall be lost, we shall perish." Therefore we must desire him to rule and govern all our thoughts, words, acts, and deeds, so that no sins bear rule in us: we must require him to put his helping hand to us, that we may overcome temptation, and not temptation us. This I would have you to consider, that every morning, when you rise from your bed, you would say these words with a faithful heart and earnest mind: *Domine, gressus meos dirige, ne dominetur peccatum in meo mortali corpore;* "Lord, rule and govern me so, order my ways so, that sin get not the victory of me, that sin rule me not; but let thy Holy Ghost inhabit my heart." And specially when any man goeth about a dangerous business, let him ever say, *Domine, dirige gressus meos*, "Lord, rule thou me; keep me in thy custody." So this is the first point, which you shall note in this petition, namely, to turn the commandments of God into a prayer. He commandeth us to leave sins, to avoid them, to hate them, to keep our heart clean from them: then let us turn his commandment into a prayer, and say, "Lord, lead us not into temptation;" that is to say, "Lord, keep us, that the devil prevail not against us, that wickedness get not the victory over us."

You shall not think that it is an ill thing to be tempted, to fall into temptations. No, for it is a good thing; and scripture commendeth it, and we shall be rewarded for it: for St James saith, *Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem;* "Blessed is that man that suffereth temptations patiently." Blessed is he that suffereth; not he that followeth; not he that is led by them, and followeth the motions thereof. The devil moveth me to do this thing and that, which is against God; to commit whoredom or lechery, or such like things. Now this is a good thing: for if I withstand his motions, and more regard God than his suggestions, happy am I, and I shall be rewarded for it in heaven. Some think that St Paul would have been without such temptations, but God would not grant his request. *Sufficit tibi gratia mea, Paule;* "Be content, Paul, to have my favour." For temptations be a

declaration of God's favour and might: for though we be most weak and feeble, yet through our weakness God vanquisheth the great strength and might of the devil. And afterward he promiseth us we shall have *coronam vitæ*, "the crown of life;" that is to say, we shall be rewarded in everlasting life. To whom did God promise *coronam vitæ*, everlasting life? *Diligentibus se*, saith St James, "Unto them that love him;" not unto them that love themselves, and follow their own affections. *Diligentibus se:* it is an *amphibologia;*[1] and therefore Erasmus turneth it into Latin with such words, *A quibus dilectus est Deus,—non, diligentibus se;* not, "they that love themselves," but, "they of whom God is beloved:" for self-love is the root of all mischief and wickedness.

Here you may perceive who are those which love God, namely, they that fight against temptations and assaults of the devil. For this life is a warfare, as St Job saith: *Militia est vita hominis super terram*, "The life of man is but a warfare." Not that we should fight and brawl one with another: no, not so; but we should fight against the Jebusites that are within us. We may not fight one with another to avenge ourselves and to satisfy our irefulness; but we should fight against the ill motions which rise up in our hearts against the law of God. Therefore remember that our life is a warfare: let us be contented to be tempted. There be some, when they fall into temptations, they be so irksome that they give place, they will fight no more. Again, there be some so weary that they rid themselves out of this life; but this is not well done. They do not after St James's mind; for he saith, "Blessed is he that suffereth temptation, and taketh it patiently." Now, if he be blessed that suffereth temptation, then it followeth, that he that curseth and murmureth against God, being tempted, that that man is cursed in the sight of God, and so shall not enjoy *coronam vitæ*, "everlasting life."

Further, it is a necessary thing to be tempted of God; for how should we know whether we have the love of God in our hearts or no, except we be tried, except God tempt and prove us? Therefore the prophet David saith, *Proba me, Domine, et tenta me;* "Lord, prove me, and tempt me." This prophet knew that to be tempted of God is a good thing: for temptations minister to us occasion to run to God, and to beg his help. Therefore David was desirous to have

[1] A sentence that will bear a double meaning.

something whereby he might exercise his faith. For there is nothing so dangerous in the world as to be without trouble, without temptation. For look, when we be best at ease, when all things go with us according unto our will and pleasure, then we are commonly most farthest off from God. For our nature is so feeble, that we cannot bear tranquillity; we forget God by and by: therefore we should say, *Proba me*, "Lord, prove me, and tempt me."

I have read once a story of a good bishop, which rode by the way, and was weary, being yet far off from any town: therefore seeing a fair house, a great man's house, he went thither, and was very well and honourably received. There was great preparations made for him and a great banquet; all things were in plenty. Then the man of the house set out his prosperity, and told the bishop what riches he had; in what honour and dignities he was; how many fair children he had; what a virtuous wife God had provided for him; so that he had no lack of any manner of thing; he had no trouble nor vexations, neither inward nor outward. Now this holy man, hearing the good estate of that man, called one of his servants, and commanded him to make ready the horses; for the bishop thought that God was not in that house, because there was no temptation there: he took his leave, and went his ways. Now when he came two or three mile off, he remembered his book which he had left behind him: he sent his man back again to fetch that book; and when the servant came again, the house was sunken and all that was in it. Here it appeareth that it is a good thing to have temptation. This man thought himself a jolly fellow, because all things went with him: but he knew not St James's lesson, *Beatus qui suffert tentationem;* "Blessed is he that endureth temptation." Let us therefore learn here, not to be irksome when God layeth his cross upon us. Let us not despair, but call upon him; let us think we be ordained unto it. For truly we shall never have done; we shall have one vexation or other, as long as we be in this world. But we have a great comfort, which is this: *Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra quam ferre possumus;* "God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." If we mistrust God, then we make him a liar: for God will not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be able to bear. And, again, he will reward us; we shall have *coronam vitæ*, "everlasting

life." If we consider this, and ponder it in our hearts, wherefore should we be troubled? Let every man, when he is in trouble, call upon God with a faithful and penitent heart, "Lord, let me not be tempted further than thou shalt make me able to bear." And this is the office of every christian man; and look for no better cheer as long as thou art in this world: but trouble and vexations thou shalt have *usque ad satietatem*, "thy belly full." And therefore our Saviour, being upon the mount Olivet, knowing what should come upon him, and how his disciples would forsake him, and mistrust him, taught them to fight against temptation, saying, *Vigilate et orate.* As who say, "I tell you what you shall do: resort to God, seek comfort of him, call upon him in my name; and this shall be the way how to escape temptations without your peril and loss." Now let us follow that rule which our Saviour giveth unto his disciples. Let us "watch and pray;" that is to say, let us be earnest and fervent in calling upon him, and in desiring his help; and no doubt he will order the matter so with us that temptation shall not hurt us, but shall be rather a furtherance, and not an impediment to everlasting life. And this is our only remedy, to fetch help at his hands. Let us therefore watch and pray; let not temptations bear rule in us or govern us.

Now peradventure there be some amongst the ignorant unlearned sort, which will say unto me, "You speak much of temptations; I pray you tell us, how shall we know when we be tempted?" Answer: When you feel in yourselves, in your hearts, some concupiscence or lust towards any thing that is against the law of God rise up in your hearts, that same is a tempting: for all manner of ill motions to wickedness are temptations. And we be tempted most commonly two manner of ways, *a dextris et a sinistris*, "on the right hand, and on the left hand." Whensoever we be in honours, wealth, and prosperities, then we be tempted on the right hand: but when we be in open shame, out-laws, or in great extreme poverty and penuries, then that is on the left hand. There hath been many, that when they have been tempted *a sinistris*, "on the left hand," that is, with adversities and all kind of miseries, they have been hardy and most godly; have suffered such calamities, giving God thanks amidst all their troubles: and there hath been many which have written most godly books in the time of their temptations and miseries. Some also there were which stood

heartily, and godlily suffered temptations, as long as they were in trouble: but afterward, when they came to rest, they could not stand so well as before in their trouble: yea, the most part go and take out a new lesson of discretion, to flatter themselves and the world withal; and so they verify that saying, *Honores mutant mores*, "Honours change manners." For they can find in their hearts to approve that thing now, which before time they reproved. Aforetime they sought the honour of God, now they seek their own pleasure. Like as the rich man did, saying, *Anima, nunc ede, bibe, &c.*, "Soul, now eat, drink," &c. But it followeth, *Stulte*, "Thou fool." Therefore, let men beware of the right hand; for they are gone by and by, except God with his Spirit illuminate their hearts. I would such men would begin to say with David, *Proba me, Domine*, "Lord, prove me: spur me forward; send me somewhat, that I forget not thee!" So it appeareth that a christian man's life is a strife, a warfare: but we shall overcome all our enemies; yet not by our own power, but through God which is able to defend us.

Truth it is that God tempteth. Almighty God tempteth to our commodities, to do us good withal; the devil tempteth to our everlasting destruction. God tempteth us for exercise' sake, that we should not be slothful; therefore he proveth us diversely. We had need often to say this prayer, "Lord, lead us not into temptation." When we rise up in a morning, or whatsoever we do, when we feel the devil busy about us, we should call upon God. The diligence of the devil should make us watchful, when we consider with what earnest mind he applieth his business: for he sleepeth not, he slumbereth not; he mindeth his own business, he is careful, and hath mind of his matters. To what end is he so diligent, seeking and searching like a hunter? Even, to take us at a vantage. St Peter calleth him a roaring lion, whereby is expressed his power: for you know, the lion is the prince of all other beasts. *Circumit*, "He goeth about." Here is his diligence. *Non est potestas*, &c. "There is no power to be likened unto his power:" yet our hope is in God; for, as strong as he is, our hope is in God. He cannot hurt or slay us without the permission of God: therefore let us resort unto God, and desire him that he will enable us to fight against him. Further, his wiliness is expressed by this word "serpent." He is of a swift nature; he hath such compasses, such fetches, that he passeth all things in the world. Again, consider how

long he hath been a practitioner. You must consider what Satan is, what experience he hath; so that we are not able to match with him. O, how fervently ought we to cry unto God, considering what danger and peril we be in! And not only for ourselves we ought to pray, but also for all others; for we ought to love our neighbour as ourselves.

Seeing then that we have such an enemy, resist; for so it is needful. For I think that now in this hall, amongst this audience, there be many thousand devils, which go about to let us of the hearing of the word of God; to make hardness in our hearts, and to stir up such like mischief within us. But what remedy? *Resistite*, "Withstand;" withstand his motions. And this must be done at the first. For, as strong as he is, when he is resisted at the first, he is the weakest; but if we suffer him to come into our hearts, then he cannot be driven out without great labour and travail. As for an ensample: I see a fair woman, I like her very well, I wish in my heart to have her. Now withstand; this is a temptation. Shall I follow my affections? No, no: call to remembrance what the devil is; call God to remembrance and his laws; consider what he hath commanded thee: say unto God, "Lord, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." For I tell thee, when he is entered once, it will be hard to get him out again. Therefore suffer him not too long: give him no mansion in thy heart, but strike him with the word of God, and he is gone; he will not abide. Another ensample: There is a man that hath done me wrong; taken away my living, or hurt me of my good name: the devil stirreth me against him, to requite him, to do him another foul turn, to avenge myself upon him. Now, when there riseth up such motions in my heart, I must resist; I must strive. I must consider what God saith, *Mihi vindicta*, "Let me have the vengeance:" *Ego retribuam*, "I will punish him for his ill doings."

In such wise we must fight with Satan; we must kill him with the word of God: *Resistite*, "Withstand and resist." "Away thou, Satan; thou movest me to that which God forbiddeth; God will defend me: I will not speak ill of my neighbour; I will do him no harm." So you must fight with him; and further remember what St Paul saith, "If thy enemy be hungry, let him have meat:" this is the shrewd turn that scripture alloweth us to do to our enemies; and so we shall "cast hot coals upon his head;" which is a

metaphorical speech. That ye may understand it, take an ensample. This man hath done harm unto thee: make him warm with thy benefits; bear patiently the injuries done unto thee by him, and do for him in his necessities: then thou shalt heat him; for he is in coldness of charity. At the length he shall remember himself, and say, "What a man am I! This man hath ever been friendly and good unto me; he hath borne patiently all my wickedness; truly I am much bound unto him: I will leave off my wrong doings, I will no more trouble him." And so you see that this is the way to make our enemy good, to bring him to reformation. But there be some, that when they be hurt, they will do a foul turn again. But this is not as God would have it. St Paul commandeth us to "pour hot coals upon our enemy's head;" that is to say, if he hurt thee, do him good, make him amends with well-doing; give him meat and drink, whereby is understood all things: when he hath need of counsel, help him; or whatsoever it is that he hath need of, let him have it. And this is the right way to reform our enemy, to amend him, and bring him to goodness; for so St Paul commandeth us, saying, *Noli vinci a malo*, "Be not overcome of the wicked." For when I am about to do my enemy a foul turn, then he hath gotten the victory over me; he hath made me as wicked as he himself is. But we ought to overcome the ill with goodness; we should overcome our enemy with well-doing.

When I was in Cambridge, Master George Stafford read a lecture, there I heard him; and in expounding the epistle to the Romans, coming to that place where St Paul saith, that "we shall overcome our enemy with well-doing, and so heap up hot coals upon his head;" now in expounding of that place, he brought in an ensample, saying, that he knew in London a great rich merchant, which merchant had a very poor neighbour; yet for all his poverty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him to come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Colet was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a scripture man; he began to smell the gospel: the poor man was a papist still. It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the gospel, sitting at his table, where he reproved popery and such kind of things, the poor man, being then present, took a great displeasure

against the rich man; insomuch that he would come no more to his house, he would borrow no money of him, as he was wont to do before-times; yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet; but it would not be: the poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him; if he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoid but come near him; yet for all that, this poor man had such a stomach against the rich man, I say, that he was minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man perceiving that, catcheth him by the hand, and asked him, saying: "Neighbour, what is come into your heart, to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends." Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought so in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour; and they loved as well as ever they did afore. Many one would have said, "Set him in the stocks; let him have bread of affliction, and water of tribulation." But this man did not so. And here you see an ensample of the practice of God's words in such sort, that the poor man, bearing great hatred and malice against the rich man, was brought, through the lenity and meekness of the rich man, from his error and wickedness to the knowledge of God's word. I would you would consider this ensample well, and follow it.

"Lead us not into temptation." Certain it is that customable sinners have but small temptations: for the devil letteth them alone, because they be his already; he hath them in bondage, they be his slaves. But when there is any good man abroad, that intendeth to leave sin and wickedness, and abhorreth the same, the man shall be tempted. The devil goeth about to use all means to destroy that man, and to let him of his forwardness. Therefore all those which have such temptations, resort hither for aid and help, and withstand betimes: for I tell thee if thou withstandest and fightest against him betimes, certainly thou shalt find him most weak; but if thou sufferest him to enter into thy heart, and hath a

delight in his motions, *tunc actum est*, then thou art undone; then he hath gotten the victory over thee. And here it is to be noted, that the devil hath no further power than God will allow him; the devil can go no further than God permitteth him to do: which thing shall strengthen our faith, insomuch that we shall be sure to overcome him.

St Paul, that excellent instrument of God, saith, *Qui volunt ditescere, incident in multas tentationes;* "They that go about to get riches, they shall fall in many temptations:" in which words St Paul doth teach us to beware. For when we go about to set our minds upon this world, upon riches, then the devil will have a fling at us. Therefore, let us not set our hearts upon the riches of this world, but rather let us labour for our living; and then let us use prayer: then we may be certain of our living. Though we have not riches, yet a man may live without great riches: *Habentes victum et vestitum*, &c., "When we have meat, and drink, and clothing, let us be content," let us not gape for riches; for I tell you it is a dangerous thing to have riches. And they that have riches must make a great account for them: yea, and the most part of the rich men use their riches so naughtily and so wickedly, that they shall not be able to make an account for them. And so you may perceive how the devil useth the good creatures of God to our own destruction: for riches are good creatures of God, but you see daily how men abuse them; how they set their hearts upon them, forgetting God and their own salvation. Therefore, as I said before, let not this affection take place in your hearts, to be rich. Labour for thy living, and pray to God, then he will send thee things necessary: though he send not great riches, yet thou must be content withal; for it is better to have a sufficient living than to have great riches. Therefore Salomon, that wise king, desired of God that he would send him neither too much, nor too little: not too much, lest he should fall into proudness, and so despise God; not too little, lest he should fall to stealing, and so transgress the law of God.

Sed libera nos a malo: "But deliver us from evil." This evil, the writers take it for the devil; for the devil is the instrument of all ill; like as God is the fountain of all goodness, so the devil is the original root of all wickedness. Therefore when we say, "deliver us from evil," we desire God that he will deliver us from the devil and all his crafts,

subtilties, and inventions, wherewith he intendeth to hurt us. And we of our ownselves know not what might let or stop us from everlasting life: therefore we desire him that he will deliver us from all ill; that is to say, that he will send us nothing that might be a let or impediment unto us, or keep us from everlasting felicity. As for ensample: There be many which when they be sick, they desire of God to have their health; for they think if they might have their health they would do much good, they would live godly and uprightly. Now God sendeth them their health; but they by and by forget all their promises made unto God before, and fall unto all wickedness, and horrible sins: so that it had been a thousand times better for them to have been sick still, than to have their health. For when they were in sickness and affliction, they called upon God, they feared him; but now they care not for him, they despise and mock him. Now therefore, lest any such thing should happen unto us, we desire him "to deliver us from evil;" that is to say, to send us such things which may be a furtherance unto us to eternal felicity, and take away those things which might lead us from the same. There be some, which think it is a gay thing to avoid poverty, to be in wealth, and to live pleasantly: yet sometimes we see that such an easy life giveth us occasion to commit all wickedness, and so is an instrument of our damnation. Now therefore, when we say this prayer, we require God, that he will be our loving Father, and give us such things which may be a furtherance to our salvation; and take away those things which may let us from the same.

Now you have heard the Lord's Prayer, which is, as I told you, the abridgment of all other prayers, and it is the store-house of God. For here we shall find all things necessary both for our souls and bodies. Therefore I desire you most heartily to resort hither to this store-house of God: seek here what you lack; and no doubt you shall find things necessary for your wealth.

In the Gospel of Matthew there be added these words: *Quia tuum est regnum, et potentia, et gloria, in secula seculorum;* "For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, world without end. Amen." These words are added not without cause; for like as we say in the beginning, "Our Father," signifying that he will fulfil our

request, so at the end we conclude, saying, "Thine is the power, &c." signifying, that he is able to help us in our distress, and to grant our requests. And though these be great things, yet we need not to despair; but consider that he is Lord over heaven and earth, that he is able to do for us, and that he will do so, being our Father and being Lord and king over all things. Therefore let us often resort hither, and call upon him with this prayer, in our Christ's name: for he loveth Christ, and all those which are in Christ; for so he saith, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacitum est;* "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I have pleasure." Seeing then that God hath pleasure in him, he hath pleasure in the prayer that he hath made: and so when we say this prayer in his name, with a faithful penitent heart, it is not possible but he will hear us, and grant our requests. And truly it is the greatest comfort in the world to talk with God, and to call upon him, in this prayer that Christ himself hath taught us; for it taketh away the bitterness of all afflictions. Through prayer we receive the Holy Ghost, which strengtheneth and comforteth us at all times, in all trouble and peril.

Quia tuum est regnum, et potentia, et gloria; "For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory." The kingdom of God is general throughout all the world; heaven and earth are under his dominion. As for the other kings, they are kings indeed, but to God-ward they be but deputies, but officers. He only is the right king; unto him only must and shall all creatures in heaven and earth obey, and kneel before his majesty. Therefore have this ever in your hearts, what trouble and calamities soever shall fall upon you for God's word's sake. If you be put in prison, or lose your goods, ever say in your hearts, *Tuum est regnum;* "Lord God, thou only art ruler and governor; thou only canst and wilt help and deliver us from all trouble, when it pleaseth thee; for thou art the king to whom all things obey." For, as I said before, all the other kings reign by him, and through him, as scripture witnesseth; *Per me reges regnant,* "Through me kings rule." To say this prayer with good faith and penitent heart is a *sacrificium laudis,* "a sacrifice of thanksgiving." We were wont to have *Sacrificium missæ,* "The sacrifice of the mass;" which was the most horrible blasphemy that could be devised, for it was against the dignity of Christ and his passion; but this sacrifice of

thanksgiving every one may make, that calleth with a faithful heart upon God in the name of Christ.

Therefore let us at all times, without intermission, offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving; that is to say, let us at all times call upon him, and glorify his name in all our livings. When we go to bed-ward, let us call upon him; when we rise, let us do likewise. Item, when we go to our meat and drink, let us not go unto it like swine and beasts; but let us remember God, and be thankful unto him for all his gifts. But above all things we must see that we have a penitent heart, else it is to no purpose: for it is written, *Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris;* "God will not be praised of a wicked man." Therefore let us repent from the bottom of our hearts; let us forsake all wickedness, so that we may say this prayer to the honour of God, and our own commodities.

And, as I told you before, we may say this prayer whole or by parts, according as we shall see occasion. For when we see God's name blasphemed, we may say, "Our Father, hallowed be thy name:" when we see the devil rule, we may say, "Our Father, thy kingdom come:" when we see the world inclined to wickedness, we may say, "Our Father, thy will be done." Item, when we lack necessary things, either for our bodies or souls, we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, give us this day our daily bread." Item, when I feel my sins, and they trouble and grieve me, then I may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses." Finally, when we will be preserved from all temptations, that they shall not have the victory over us, nor that the devil shall not devour us, we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever, world without end." *Amen.*

Here endeth the Sermons upon the Lord's Prayer, made by the right reverend Father in God, Master Doctor Latimer, before the right virtuous and honouable lady Katharine Duchess of Suffolk, at Grymsthorpe, the year of our Lord 1552.

Excerptæ per me, Augustinum Bernerum, Helvetium.

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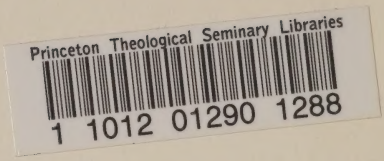

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